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REMINISCENCES.

of Charles Butler
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INTRODUCTION.

AS the Writer's time of life admonishes him, that this * may be the last occasion, on which any production of his pen will solicit the attention of the public, he avails himself of it to mention THE TITLES OF ALL HIS WORKS, and to state succinctly some circumstances and observations, which the present publication brings to his REMINISCENCE. Several works having been imputed to him, in which he has had no concern, and which he knows only by their titles, he takes this opportunity of disclaiming ALL, which he shall not mention.

M. Péllisson, in his account of M. Huét the celebrated bishop of Avranches, observes of that prelate, that, " from his tenderest years, he gave " himself to study; that, at his rising, his going

* These reminiscences, in a contracted form, were prefixed to the writer's HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF THE ENGLISH, IRISH AND SCOTTISH CATHOLICS, the publication referred to in the text.

" to bed, and during his meals, he was reading, " or had others to read to him ; that neither the " fire of youth, the interruption of business, the " variety of his employments, the society of his " friends, nor the bustle of the world, could ever " moderate his ardour for study *." These expressions the Reminiscent has applied, with complete justice, to the reverend Mr. Alban Butler, the author of " The Lives of the Saints," his paternal uncle †: he believes that, with some justice at least, he may also apply them to himself.

It is pleasing to him to reflect, that, though few have exceeded him in the love of literature, or pursued it with greater delight, it never seduced, or was suspected by his professional friends of seducing him, for one moment, from professional duty. M. Teissier ‡, in his account of one of the French *jurisconsults* noticed in his *Eloges*, mentions that " he was so absorbed in his literary " pursuits, that his wife was frequently obliged to " drag him from his library to his bureau." To this necessity, the loved and revered person, to whom the Reminiscent owes thirty-seven years of happiness, was never exposed.

* Pellisson, Histoire de l'Académie, vol. i. p. 102.

† In the account of his life inserted in the 3d vol. of the writer's works.

‡ Eloges des Hommes Sçavans tirés de l'Histoire de M. de Thou. Leyde, 4 vol. 12mo.

Very early rising,—a systematic division of his time,—abstinence from all company and from all diversions not likely to amuse him highly,—from reading, writing, or even thinking on modern politics,—and, above all, never permitting a bit or scrap of time to be unemployed,—have supplied him with an abundance of literary hours. His literary acquisitions, whatever they are, may, perhaps, be principally owing to the rigid observance of four rules:—to direct his attention to one literary object only at a time; to read the best book upon it, consulting others as little as possible;—where the subject was contentious, to read the best book on each side;—to find out men of information, and, when in their society, to listen, not to talk.

The produce of his literary labours has appeared in the publications which these pages, *opus senile*, will be found to mention. It is a great satisfaction to him to reflect that none of his writings contain a single line of personal hostility to any one.

I.

EDUCATION—FOREIGN COLLEGES FOR THE EDUCATION OF ENGLISH CATHOLICS.

NO one ever discovered a passion for literature at an earlier hour in his life than the Reminiscent. He was first sent for EDUCATION to an academy, kept by a roman-catholic at Hammersmith.—During the two centuries, which immediately followed the reformation, the severity of the penal code had prevented the establishment, in England, of catholic institutions for education. The first which acquired any thing like celebrity, was at Twyford in Hampshire; it had the honour of furnishing Mr. Pope with his first rudiments of learning; the school at Hammersmith and some others followed. They were occasionally interrupted by informers; so that it was deemed advisable to break up the establishment at Twyford; and more than once, the apprehension of a domiciliary visit forced the master of the school at Hammersmith to send away suddenly all its inmates to their parents. But, after the middle of the last century, the catholic schools were seldom molested.

From Hammersmith, the Reminiscent was removed to an English catholic college in the university of Douay, under the care of secular

priests. This was one of the seminaries of education, which, as education at home was denied them, the piety of the roman-catholics formed on the continent. The principal of these was that at Douay, and one at St. Omer's, under the direction of the Society of Jesus;—*stirps ad promovendas bonas literas feliciter nata*,—as Lipsius said of the Medici. Their design was to educate, for the ecclesiastical state, a succession of youths, who might afterwards be sent on the English mission. The catholic gentry availed themselves of them for the education of their children. They were excellently instructed in their religion; the classics were well taught, but the main object of them being to form members for the church, they were not calculated to qualify the scholars either for business, the learned professions, or the higher scenes of life. Writing, arithmetic and geography were little regarded in them; modern history was scarcely mentioned, and little attention paid to manners.

But every care was taken to form the infant mind to religion and virtue: the boys were secluded from the world; every thing that could inflame their imagination or passions was kept at a distance. Piety, somewhat of the ascetic nature, was inculcated; and the hopes and fears, which christianity presents, were incessantly held in their view. No classic author was put into their

hands, from which every passage, describing scenes of love or gallantry, or tending to inspire either, even in the remotest manner, had not been obliterated. How this was done, may be seen by any one, who will inspect father Juvenci's excellent editions of Horace or Juvenal. Few works of English writers were permitted to be read; none, which had not been similarly expurgated. The consequence was, that a foreign college was the abode of innocence, learning and piety.

It has been questioned, whether this system of education is perfectly free from objection;—whether the sudden transition from the walls of this holy retirement, into the allurements of pleasure, which every youth must encounter, the instant he steps into the world, is not likely to make him rush into the opposite extreme of indulgence and dissipation; whether the strict state of coercion, in which these students were educated, was not calculated to break their spirit;—whether their imaginations were not too much subdued by the awful view of the eternal years thus incessantly presented to them;—whether more of the world's morality ought not to be taught to all who are to live in the world:—in one word, whether the general effect of the system was not calculated to produce a feebleness of mind and soul that would shrink from contention, and give

the palm to the less religious, but bolder adventurer:

"Vincentem strepitus, et natum rebus agendis."

"But what is the end of our being?" asked a priest, to whom, for the sake of obtaining his answer, the Reminiscent retailed these objections: "Is it, what is usually termed, to succeed in life? "to deserve the praise of elegance? to obtain re- "nown? Is it not to save one's soul? Can this be "done better than by protracting innocence as "long as possible? What can compensate its "early loss?—You say that all this purity will "shrink at the first touch of the world. Be it so; "but the victim will then only be in the situation "in which he would, in all probability, have been, "if he had been educated in a dissipated school. "Besides, is it certain that this will be the case? "Does experience show that the habits of years "are so soon overcome?—Admit however that it "unfortunately happens,—which is most likely to "experience salutary compunction? And when "sober years, the *rétour de l'âge*, as the French "describe this period of life, shall come on, which "is most likely to return to religion and regular- "ity,—he, whose youthful years were strict and "pious, or he, to whose youth devotion was un- "known? You say, this sequestered education "and these submissive habits disqualify for act- "ive life: but don't they teach obedience, teach "modesty, teach duty?—Now, what is the rank,

" what the pursuit, for which these do not emi-
" nently qualify? But, let experience decide the
" question. The exclusion of the catholics of this
" realm from all public, and from most lucrative
" situations, and the general depression of their
" body, place them under many disadvantages.
" Making due allowances for this circumstance,
" and for the comparative proportion of their
" numbers, you will find that they will not suffer
" in comparison with their protestant brethren.
" No, the more I think of it," continued the good ecclesiastic, " the more I feel disposed to advo-
" cate the strict precautionary discipline of our
" foreign colleges."

It may be added, that the world has unavoidably found some way into these establishments since they have been settled in England: their system of education has consequently been materially improved by it. Reading, arithmetic, geography, and modern history, are systematically taught; and due regard is shown to manners.

On two accounts,—cheapness and universal equality of treatment,—the foreign education of which we are speaking, was entitled to the highest praise. The instruction, the dress, the board, the pocket-money, the ornamental accomplishments of music, dancing and fencing, every thing, except physic, was defrayed for the moderate yearly sum of 30 *l.* There was no distinction of rank: —when the late duke of Norfolk was at Douay

college, he rose at the same hour, studied and said his lesson in the same classes, ate at the same table, and wore the same uniform as the other boys; the son of the duke de St. Carlos did the same at Stonyhurst; the grand Condé had done the same at the Loyolan Collége de Clérmont.

But, whatever objection might be made to the retired and devotional habits of a foreign college, in respect to persons destined to the world, none could be made to them in respect to persons destined to the church. No English priest ever assumed or tried to assume in them the look or manner of an abbé, who did not excite derision.

It should not be forgotten, that, notwithstanding their exile and persecutions, the hearts of these foreign scholars remained truly English. This was ever observed by those among whom they were domiciliated. During the war, which was closed by the peace of Paris, every victory which the English gained over the French was a triumph to the English boys in their foreign schools. Their superiors were more than once admonished by the magistrates and their friends not to make their joy on these occasions too noisy. The salutary and incontrovertible truth, that one Englishman can, any day, beat two Frenchmen, was as firmly believed, and as ably demonstrated at Douay and St. Omer's, as it could be at Eton or Winchester.

II.

CLASSICAL STUDIES—HOMER—VIRGIL—DEMOSTHENES—CICERO—MODERN ENGLISH POETS.

CLASSICAL literature was, for some years after he quitted Douay college, the delight of the Reminiscent; such it had been even before that time He distinctly recollects his almost infant admiration of Tasso in Fairfax's translation, and of Homer in Pope's; and that, even then, he felt the splendid invocation, with which Homer introduces his catalogue of the ships, and the noble speech of Sarpedon to Glaucus. At Douay he read, in the original, the two great epic poems of antiquity, and then preferred the Roman to the Grecian bard. At a subsequent time, he renewed his Greek education under the late Dr. Harwood, and he then *began* to be sensible of the transcendent beauties of the latter.

Homer has since been his favourite author. The sublime conceptions, vivid figures, interesting narratives, but more than all, the exquisite style and perfect common sense of the Mæonian bard, are far above any praise which they can receive in these pages. His work is a prodigy: —we must suppose either that he was preceded by other writers, who had brought poetry to the perfection, or nearly to the perfection, in which

we find it in his writings; or that he himself was the creator of the poetry of his own immortal work.

It is observable that Herodotus* seems to declare for the latter opinion. "As for the gods," these are his words, "whence each of them was "descended, or whether they were always in "being, or under what shape or form they ex-"isted, the Greeks knew nothing till very lately. "Hesiod and Homer were, I believe, about four "hundred years older than myself, and no more; "and these are the men who made a theogony "for the Greeks; who gave the gods their ap-"pellations, defined their qualities, appointed "their honours and described their forms. As "for the poets, who are said to have lived be-"fore these men, I am of opinion they came after "them." Herodotus seems here to express himself as if he considered the Grecian theogony to have been the invention of Homer and Hesiod; but whoever reflects on its nature, its complication and contrivance, its countless but coherent relations and dependencies, must be sensible that this was impossible.

Even if this opinion were admitted, a further difficulty would press upon us. The poetry of Homer is complete; the structure of the hexameter is equalled by no other mode of versifi-

* Ευτερπη.

cation in any language; the formation of the phrases, the collocation of the words, the figurative diction, the animation of inanimate nature, whatever else distinguishes poetry from prose, is introduced in its most perfect mode into the poems of Homer. The universal opinion of all ages has acknowledged these to constitute the true poetical character, and no succeeding age has improved on any of them. Was he, then, the inventor of them? This exceeds human power. Was he preceded by other bards, upon whom he refined, and whom he transcendently excelled? If this were the case, what has become of these antecedent poets?

To solve these difficulties, the Reminiscent begs leave to insert a conjecture, in which he has sometimes indulged himself;—that there existed in central Asia a civilized and powerful nation, in which the Sanscritan language was spoken, and the religion of Brama prevailed; this the initiated might reconcile, by emblematical explanation, with philosophy; but, in the sense in which it was received by the people at large, it was the rankest idolatry;—that, comparing what the writers on India, and the Siamese, Chinese and Japanese writers, relate of a celebrated man, whom they severally call Budda, Sommonocoddom, Fohi and Xaha, we have reason to suppose that he was the same person, and a re-

former of the Sanscritan creed and ceremonial; that his reformed system may be called Buddism; that this still prevails in Tartary, China, and numerous islands in the Indian Archipelago; but that Sanscritism still exists in Hindustan; that either before or after the Buddistic schism, and not far from the time usually assigned to the fabulous ages, the Sanscritans spread their doctrines and languages over the countries which lay to their west, so that, in the course of time, they became the religious creed and language both of Greece and Italy; that civilization and the arts and sciences flourished among them; that those, who introduced them into Greece, were called the Pelasgi; that those, who introduced them into Italy received the appellation of Hetruscans; that, by degrees, the Sanscritan was moulded into the Greek language; that from the Greek it degenerated, in Italy, into the Latin; that this state of things continued in Greece till the irruption of the Dorians and Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, about eighty years after the Trojan war; and in Italy, until the period usually assigned for the foundation of Rome, when, from some unknown event, the glories of Hetruria were considerably impaired; that, after the settlement of the Dorians and Heraclidæ in Peloponnesus, but while the former traditionary learning of Greece was still

remembered, Homer wrote; that, in the confusion which followed this event, the memory of Homer and the preceding or contemporary poets was lost; and that the minor poets were never revived, but that the supereminent merit of Homer resuscitated his poems, and restored them to celebrity.

This conjecture receives some countenance from the opinion generally entertained by the ancients, that Homer acquired his knowledge in Egypt, and the Egyptians their's from India; and from the system of Sir William Jones* respecting the identity of the Indian, Grecian and Italian deities:—Among these, if we believe Dr. Milne†, we should include the national deities of China.

But, whatever opinions may be formed on the points which have been mentioned, surely no doubt can be entertained of the supreme merit of the Homeric poems.

In one respect—the strong and exquisite delineation of character—Homer has, unquestionably, excelled all other writers. His heroes constitute nearly all the genera into which mankind

* In his excellent dissertation upon this subject in the "Asiatic Researches."

† See his "Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China,"—an interesting work, printed at the Anglo-Chinese press in Malacca.

can be divided; the specieses of them he left to his followers. Sometimes, however, he descends to these, and then his pencil is equally powerful and distinct. All the principal actors in his poems have the heroic port, and therefore inspire awe; but they are all human, and therefore interest by their successes and misfortunes.

Here, *Virgil*, miserably fails. With the exception of Dido, and perhaps of Turnus in his latest hour, he has scarcely introduced into the Æneid a single personage who either imposes by the grand, or interests by the amiable features of his character. Æneas is worse than insipid:—he disgusts by his fears, his shiverings, and his human sacrifices; and, in his interview with Helen, while Troy was on fire, he is below contempt. Amata, however, is Virgil's crime; he had invested Dido with grandeur; he might have made Amata lovely; and, as he had excited our admiration for the Tyrian queen, he might have drawn our tears for the daughter of Latinus.

It must be obvious to every reader that Homer's women are infinitely preferable to Virgil's; but it is not a little remarkable that the women of *Ossian* are equal in grace, and superior in delicacy and feminine tenderness to both. The icicles on Dian's temple are not more pure, more chaste than they. This seems to the

Reminiscent to afford a strong, but, in his opinion, a solitary argument, in favour of the authenticity of the poems which describe them *.

The "Paradise Lost" did not admit the discrimination of character, or excitement of feeling, which the Iliad contains; and in this respect it necessarily is its inferior. But the ability with which *Milton* struggled with this overwhelming difficulty is prodigious, and may justify our asserting the equality of the poets, while we admit the inequality of the poems. Perhaps neither the Latin nor the English epic contains any insulated passage which can be compared with the description of the Mourner at the Scæan gate, or of Priam's begging the body of Hector: —to these only, Milton's descriptions of Satan in his first book, and some scenes in which he introduces Adam and Eve, are inferior. There is no part of Homer which we read with so much pleasure as the second and sixth books of Virgil. The story of Nisus and Euryalus is

* The magic of exquisite poetry is, perhaps, no where more conspicuous than in the description of Dido's silent and indignant scorn of Æneas on the infernal shore, and her return to Sichæus. Divested of the charm with which it is invested by the poet, the scene is disgustingly ludicrous; but, as it is related by Virgil, it rises to sublimity. In fact, if the whole adventure on the Tyrian shore had been told by the ordinary poet, the widower and the widow would always have been in view, and been comic.

exquisite; but is it not exceeded by the night-adventures of Ulysses and Diomedes, in which we hear every step, and feel every breath? Homer's language is uniformly idiomatic: Is not Virgil's occasionally too highly polished? Does it not sometimes cease to be Latin? Has it not too many Grecisms? Has not the poem of *Lucretius*, have not the epistles of *Horace*, more of the true raciness of the Latian soil?

The Reminiscent recollects the little real admiration with which, when he was at Douay, he read the Olynthiacs and Phillipics of *Demosthenes*, and the preference which he then gave to *Cicero*; but when he afterwards perused them with Dr. Harwood, and, by attending the debates in parliament, was acquainted with the nature and effects of public speaking, he became sensible of the excellence of Demosthenes. As an orator, Cicero always appeared to the Reminiscent to be entitled to the full measure, which he has received, of universal admiration:—he trembles to add, that he thinks Cicero's philosophical works defective in order and precision, and that they contain too many words. His Letters are beyond praise: it is observable that an epistle to Lentulus, in the first book * of his familiar correspondence, contains the ablest delineation of *ratting*, and the

* Epist. ad Familiares, l. 1. ep. 7.

most artful apology for it, that has appeared. No letters, ancient or modern, are comparable with Cicero's. Racine always carried in his pocket a volume of those to Atticus.—*Lord Bolingbroke's* may be thought to approach nearest to them.—From the specimens which we have seen, it may confidently be expected, that the letters of *Mr. Burke* will be found eminently beautiful and interesting.

Of the works of the ancients, which time has intercepted from us, it is difficult to fix on that, of which we should most lament the loss. Mr. Fox mentioned to the Reminiscent that he principally regretted the lost tragedies of Euripides, and the comedies of Menander: some think the Decades of Livy, and the portions of Tacitus, which have not reached us, a greater loss. If the Reminiscent could obtain any of the *opera deperdita* by a wish, it would be the Memoirs of Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleucus at Palibothra, the capital of the Prasii, or the country watered by the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna. What a store of ancient Indian learning might we not expect them to unfold!

Classical literature naturally leads to a consideration of *modern poetry*. The Reminiscent's almost complete ignorance of the Italian language, does not allow him to speak of the poets of that country. He was once familiar

with those of *France*; but his total neglect of them, with very few exceptions, during the last thirty years of his life, has driven them from his recollection. He remembers, however, his admiration of the perfect style of *Boileau*, without a useless epithet, or an imperfect word, and with very little of that inversion, which is the great defect of French poetry;—he also recollects his admiration of the poems of *Jean Baptiste Rousseau*, who appeared to him to possess more of the true poetic character than, perhaps, with the exception of Racine, has been bestowed on any of his countrymen. His works are little known in this country; a selection of them,—(for, unfortunately, several are highly objectionable),—was made by Father Porée—an English reader will be delighted with them; he will find that, in several, the French bard has ascended the winged steed, and soared with no middle flight.

It was not till "the subtle thief of youth" had stolen all his early years, that the Reminiscent was really sensible of the wonders and charms with which the pages of the bard of the Avon abound, and which, notwithstanding his countless deformities and absurdities, place him in the British theatre without a rival or a second. *Shakspeare*, perhaps, is the only poet who has put into the mouth of an actor a speech which the person, whom that

actor was intended to represent, might have spoken on the occasion to which it is assigned. Brutus and Anthony might have uttered the very speeches, Hamlet might have pronounced the very soliloquy, Macbeth and his Lady might have held the same dialogue, and Falstaff and the Merry Wives of Windsor might have had the same conversations as Shakspeare has ascribed to them. This is his peculiar praise; and, (at least with the single exception of Homer), no poet has so many real touches of simple or sublime nature, as are to be found in his writings.

On a late perusal of some of the best works of *Dryden and Pope*, the Reminiscent thought he perceived a great superiority in the former: he remembers when he thought the contrary. Age, he believes, makes us fastidious in poetry, and feel much more than we do in youth, the truth of the known observation of Horace,

Mediocribus esse poetis
Non Di, non homines, non concessere Columnæ,

He remembers when he knew by heart a great part of Dodsley's Collection: he is now insensible of the merit of the greater number of the poems which it contains. Very little poetry, which has appeared since the decease of Pope, now affords him pleasure; but Goldsmith, Collins, and some passages in Churchill he yet

peruses with delight. This very year he read the Comus of Milton, and his Allegro and Penseroso, with all the zest and admiration of youth.

Every verse of *Gray* is imprinted in his memory. It is remarkable that, notwithstanding the obscurity, the stiffness, the bad rhymes, and disgusting alliterations of that poet, his works are more read and remembered than those of any other English poet. If all the printed copies of the poems of Gray were annihilated, there is not a county in England, or a parish in London, in which all his English and all his Latin odes, and his incomparable elegy, might not be supplied, by the recollections of some of their inhabitants.

How very little of *Goldsmith* is known by heart! Yet his language is at once more simple and more elegant, and his rhymes more perfect, than those of Gray. He has nothing of Gray's alliteration, stiffness, or obscurity; his images are drawn from real life; and all he says comes home to men's business and manners. To what, then, are we to attribute the superior popularity of Gray? Certainly not to Goldsmith's want of excellence: but the muse of Gray was of a higher order. To use an expression attributed to Dr. Johnson, if she has sometimes the contortions, she has often what Goldsmith never has, the enthusiasm of

the Sybil; and even her ordinary gait shows her divine origin*. The greatest compliment which can be paid to Gray, is to mention his acknowledged superiority to Goldsmith.

The most eminent English poets of our own times are confessedly Cowper, Lord Byron, Sir Walter Scott and Southey. The true poetic character is spread over all their poems: those of *Cowper* are particularly set off by a general tinge of religious and moral melancholy, that adds to their general effect; but a multitude of his lines are rough; a multitude, prosaic; this renders the perusal of them a task, and the pleasure which attends it does not always compensate the labour. It is surprising that *Southey*, who has written and still writes so much, should, as in his Don Roderick, have written so well. *Lord Byron's* poems contain many passages of great sublimity and pathos, and many of exquisite gaiety and humour; but the characters of his principal personages often disgust by their satanic wickedness. *Sir Walter Scott's* poems abound with passages of the highest splendour and elegance; he carries his reader into the scenes which he describes, and makes him partake of their agitation. An antiquarian picturesque is frequently introduced, which, particularly to those who are skilled in antiquarian

* Et vera incessu patuit Dea.—Virg.

lore, has an indescribable charm; but his ease is not always laboured, and the attention which it is necessary to exert for understanding the story, and following the clue of the narrative, renders the reader less sensible of the charms of the poetry. One may apply both to him and Lord Byron, what Cardinal de Retz says of the grand Condé, "that he did not do justice to "the greatness of his own merit." We hope, and we believe, that neither has yet produced his greatest work.

Crabbe,—sometimes the Teniers,—sometimes the Salvator Rosa of modern poetry, will accompany those who have been mentioned, to posterity. When a person has succeeded so well in one line, it may be imprudent to wish that he had engaged in another; yet it is impossible not to lament that his muse has not oftener frequented the abodes of virtue, of innocence, of comfort and joy.

To return to Mr. Pope,—the merit of his translation of Homer is admitted by every person of learning, taste and candour. It is true, that he often generalizes, while Homer dwells in particulars; that he too often expresses the whole, while Homer expresses a part only of what he wishes his readers to understand; and that, by describing common things or occurrences with too much pomp, he sometimes bor-

ders on the burlesque. This may be thought to justify Gibbon's expression, that "Pope's "translation has every merit except that of like-"ness to its original."

Melmoth, in his "Letters of Sir Thomas Fitz-"Osborne," produces several instances, in which the translation is, in his opinion, superior to the original. He cites, among them, the celebrated night-piece in the eighth book of the Iliad. Here we think the admirer of Homer would quarrel with the critic. Melmoth proceeds to contrast different parts of the versions of Pope and Dryden, and gives a decided preference to the former. One passage cited by him is that which describes Andromache returning, after the interview at the Scæan gate, to her maidens in the palace. Dryden thus translates the original:—

"At this,—for new replies he* did not stay,
"But laced his crested helm, and strode away.
"His lovely consort to her house returned,
"And, looking often back, in silence mourned.
"Home when she came, her secret woe she vents,
"And fills the palace with her loud laments.
"These loud laments her echoing maids restore,
"And Hector, yet alive, as dead deplore."

It is thus rendered by Pope:

"Thus having said,—the glorious chief resumes
"His towry helmet, black with shading plumes †.

* Hector.

† Does this convey the meaning of the original?

" His princess parts with a prophetic * sigh,
" Unwilling parts, and oft reverts her eye,
" That streamed at every look,—then, moving slow,
" Sought her own palace, and indulged her woe.
" There, while her tears deplored the godlike man,
" Through all the train the soft infection † ran;
" The pious ‡ maids their mingled sorrows shed,
" And mourn the living Hector as the dead."

May not the justice of the preference given by Melmoth to Pope's version of this passage be questioned? Is not the simplicity of Dryden, homely perhaps as it may be thought, greatly preferable to the Ovidian graces of Pope?

An excuse for the ornaments, with which Pope has studiously attempted to set off his translation, is furnished by the remark of Dr. Johnson, that "though Virgil wrote in language "of the same general fabrick with that of Ho-" mer, in verses of the same measure, and in an " age nearer to Homer's time by 1,800 years, " yet he found even then, the state of the world " so much altered, and the demand for elegance § " so much increased, that mere nature would " be endured no longer; and that, perhaps, in " the multitude of borrowed passages, very few

* There is no sigh in the original, and Homer certainly would not have called it "prophetic."

† Nothing can be less Homeric than this expression.

‡ Where did Pope find the piety of the maids?

§ Would not "refinement" have been a more proper word?

" can be shown which he has not embellished." It is impossible to deny the general justness of this remark; but may not the Reminiscent be allowed to hint, that no embellishment should have been admitted that was *contrary* to the genius of the original; and to ask, whether many embellishments of this kind have not found their way into the translation?

With the translation of Pope, that of Cowper will sustain no comparison. It is literal; and may be thought to bear, on that account, a nearer resemblance to the original. It is true, that, if it be examined word for word, this will appear to be the case; but if the general effect of any one speech, or any one narrative be considered, the result will be very different. Let their translations of that part of the first book of the Iliad, which describes the walk of the priest on the loud-resounding shore, and his address to the chiefs, be compared:—which will be found to give the best notion of the exquisite charm of the original? Even the most orthodox Grecian must give the palm to Pope. Dr. Johnson pronounces his translation to be " a poetical wonder,—a production which no " age or nation can pretend to equal." Is this exaggerated praise? Dryden's translation of the Æneid stands nearest to it: a poet by profession, in search of poetical imagery, poetical

combinations and poetical diction, will perhaps find more of these in Dryden; but general readers will unquestionably give a decided preference to Pope.

III.

JURISPRUDENCE.

THE *Inns of Court* divorced the Reminiscent from the muses:—in the course of his professional studies he endeavoured to obtain a general elementary knowledge of the Laws and Constitutions of other countries. The few following miscellaneous observations on some of the topics to which this subject leads, will not, perhaps, be unacceptable to his readers: some are taken from his works on the civil law, which he shall afterwards mention.

III. 1.

Heirship and Venality of Judicial Offices in France.

AN Englishman will hear with surprise, that in France, from the age of Lewis the twelfth, till the time of the revolution, most offices of justice were both hereditary and saleable; he will hear, with greater surprise, that this was a point, on which respectable opinions were divided at the first, and continued divided to the last.

In 1467, offices, which before that time had been simple commissions, revocable at the king's pleasure, were, by an edict of Lewis the eleventh,

rendered perpetual and hereditary. This edict gave rise both to the heirship and the sale of offices. In 1493, Charles the eighth published an edict, which, while it prohibited the sale, by one subject to another, of offices that regarded the administration of justice, was silent on the sale of other offices, and was therefore supposed to legalize their sale. An edict of Lewis the twelfth allowed the sale even of offices of justice; till 1522, the whole of the money paid for the purchase of them was received by the crown; but in that year, an edict of Francis the first permitted individuals, possessed of such offices, to sell them, on paying a certain proportion of the purchase-money into the royal treasury; and from that time, venality of offices became an important article of the French constitution, and an important branch of the royal revenue.

In the course of time, it underwent many modifications. For some centuries before the French revolution, it was conducted on the following plan:—when the king established a new court of justice, the edict of its creation fixed the number of the magistrates or judges, and the specific sums to be paid by them for grants of the offices, which they should fill. The candidates petitioned the king for them; the grants of them were made by letters under the great seal; and,

from that time, the offices were hereditary in the family of the grantee. Where a court was already established, the possessor of any of the offices of which it was composed, might, in his life-time, and his heirs might, after his decease, dispose of it by sale; or he might direct by will that it should be sold. When the sale of an office took place, the purchaser petitioned the crown for a grant of it; and, when the grant was signed, he paid, besides the price which the vendor was to receive for it, a sum of money into the royal treasury. The amount of that sum varied from 1,000 to 2,000 French crowns. The sum which he paid into the royal treasury, was, on a subsequent sale of the office, returned to him or his heirs. Thus the purchaser of an office virtually paid for it no more than the accruing interest of the purchase-money from the time of its payment until the return of it on a resale. But great care was exerted to ascertain that the person to whom the office was granted, should be properly qualified for the discharge of its duties. It was always required that he should have taken the degree of licentiate both in the civil and the canon law; and the taking of such a degree, in a French university, was far from being a matter of course. As soon as the grant of the office was delivered to the purchaser, he presented it to the tribunal to which the office

belonged, with a petition, stating generally, his qualifications, and expressly averring that the money, which he had paid for the office, was his own money, and had not been borrowed by him for the purpose. Then a commission issued, composed of lay and ecclesiastical lawyers and other persons of rank, who were to inquire and report upon the learning, morals, political conduct and general idoneity of the purchaser. The procureur-general of the parliament, within whose resort the office lay, presided over the commission. If the inquiry was favourable to the purchaser, they chose, out of the digest or code, some point of law, upon which, at the end of eight days, he was to come prepared with complete legal information; and he was also then expected to answer, with general sufficiency, on the civil and canon law, and on the ordonnances and customary law of the country. Sometimes, he was declared incapable of the office; sometimes, a term for further probation was allowed him. Till the middle of the last century these examinations were conducted with great strictness. Sometimes the chancellor himself examined the persons appointed to offices, on their competency. "One day," says Brantôme, "I called on M. le "Chancelier de l'Hôpital, with Mareschal Stroz-"zi, who was among his favourites, and he in-"vited us to dine. For our dinner he gave us an

" excellent bouillie, and nothing more; but his
" conversation was excellent; fine words, fine
" sentences in abundance, and now and then a
" gentle joke. After dinner, a couple of coun-
" sellors, just chosen into their offices, were an-
" nounced; he ordered them in, and, without
" desiring them to sit down, called for the code,
" and put several questions upon different arti-
" cles in it to the two gentlemen, who all the
" while trembled as a leaf. Their answers did
" not show much knowledge; and he gave them
" such a lecture! Though the youngest of them
" was fifty years old, he sent them back to their
" studies. Strozzi and I stood by the fire-side
" highly diverted with the scene, and particularly
" with the woeful countenances of the two magis-
" trates; they had all the appearance of men
" going to be hanged. At length the chancellor
" packed them off with a frown; and assured
" them that he would inform the king how igno-
" rant they were, and would see that their charges
" should be given to others. As soon as they
" were out of hearing, he told us they were two
" great asses; and that it was against con-
" science that the king should name such per-
" sons for judges. We suggested to him that
" the game which he had offered them was too
" strong for their palates. 'Far from it,' said the
" chancellor, 'I questioned them on no point,

" on which a tyro in the law should not be fully " informed.' "

It should be added, that, in general, the magistrates were chosen from families of great respectability, and possessed fortunes, which placed them considerably above want. No one was admitted into the parliament of Brittany who could not prove that he was noble by race and extraction, or in other words, who could not prove a century of nobility in his family.

The advocates for the venality of offices of justice are proud to reckon among them the cardinal de Richelieu and Montesquieu. " The ve- " nality of charges," says the latter*, " cannot " exist in despotic states; as it is essential to " despotism, that every officer should be liable " to be instantaneously placed, and instantane- " ously displaced, at the mere will of the prince. " It is proper for monarchies, as it makes the " study of the law a kind of qualification, which " otherwise the party would not be at the pains " of acquiring, to enable him to hold a family " dignity. It gives an early direction to duty; " and tends to confer permanence on an order " of great public use in the state. It is a just " observation of Suidas," continues Montesquieu, " that, by the sale of offices, the Emperor Anas- " tasius converted the empire into an aristocracy:

* Esprit des Loix, l. v. c. 19.

" Plato could not endure it. He declares that it " is the same, as if persons on ship-board should " choose a pilot for money. But Plato is speaking " of a republic, the basis of which is virtue; we " are speaking of a monarchy. There, if the sale " of the offices were not allowed by law, the greedi- " ness and avarice of the courtiers would, in spite " of the law, make them saleable. As the sales of " them are now regulated by our laws, the chance " of having them properly filled is greater than " if the nomination of them depended on the " mere will of the courtiers. Finally, such a me- " thod of advancing one's-self by wealth, both " inspires and sustains industry; and, in a mo- " narchy, every thing which incites noble fami- " lies to industry is to be encouraged." These observations are excellent; but the intelligent reader will immediately perceive, that nothing of what is urged in them for the venality of charges in France can be applied to the venality of them in England. A reflection, highly honourable both to the wisdom and purity of the English constitution, will perhaps here suggest itself to him!

III. 2.

Presents and Personal Solicitations to Foreign Judges.

ANOTHER practice in the French administration of justice, which will astonish an English

reader, was the *épices, or presents* made, on some occasions, by the parties in a cause, to the judges by whom it was tried.

A passage in Homer *, where he describes a compartment in the shield of Achilles, in which two talents of gold were placed between two judges, as the reward of the best speaker, is generally cited to prove, that, even in the earliest times, the judges were paid for their administration of justice: but an attentive reader will probably agree with Mr. Mitford in his construction of this passage, that the two talents were not the reward of the judge, who should give the best opinion, but the subject of the dispute, and were to be adjudged to him, who established his title to them by the best arguments.—Plutarch mentions, that, under the administration of Pericles, the Athenian magistrates were first authorized to require a remuneration from the suitors of their courts. In ancient Rome, the magistrates were wholly paid by the public; but Justinian allowed some magistrates of an inferior description to receive presents, which he limited to a certain amount, from the suitors before them. Montesquieu† observes, that, "in the early ages of the "feudal law, when legal proceedings were short "and simple, the lord defrayed the whole ex-

* Iliad, lib. xviii. 503—508.

† Esprit des Loix, l. xxviii. ch. 35.

" pense of the administration of justice in his " court. In proportion as society became refined, " a more complex administration of justice be- " came necessary; and it was considered that not " only the party who was cast, should, on account " of his having instituted a bad cause, but that " the successful party should, on account of the " benefit, which he had derived from the pro- " ceedings of the court, contribute, in some de- " gree, to the expenses attending them; and " that the public, on account of the general be- " nefit which it derived from the administration " of justice, should make up the deficiency." To secure to the judges the proportion which the suitors were to contribute towards the expense of justice, it was provided, by an ordonnance of St. Louis, that, at the commencement of a suit, each party should deposit in court, the amount of one-tenth part of the property in dispute: that the tenth deposited by the unsuccessful party should be paid over to the judges on their passing sentence; and that the tenth of the successful party should then be returned to him. This was varied by subsequent ordonnances: insensibly it became a custom for the successful party to wait on the judges, after sentence was passed, and, as an acknowledgment of their attention to the cause, to present them with a box of sweetmeats, which were then called *épices* or spices.

By degrees, this custom became a legal perquisite of the judges; and it was converted into a present of money, and required by the judges before the cause came to a hearing:—*Non deliberetur donec solventur species*, say some of the ancient registers of the parliaments of France. The practice was afterwards abolished; the amount of the *épiçes* was regulated; and, in many cases, the taking of them was absolutely forbidden. Speaking generally, they were not payable till final judgment; and, if the matter were not heard in court, but referred to a judge for him to hear and report to the court upon it, he was entitled to the whole of the *épiçes*, and the other judges were entitled to no part of them. Those among the magistrates, who were most punctual and diligent in their attendance in court, and the discharge of their duty, had most causes referred to them, and were therefore richest in *épiçes*; but the superior amount of them, however it might prove their superior exertions, added little to their fortune, as, in the whole year, it did not often exceed 50 *l.* and never 100 *l.* The judges had some other perquisites, and also some remuneration from government; but the amount of the perquisites and remuneration of any judge, except those of the presidents, amounted to little more than the *épiçes*. The presidents of the parliament had a higher remuneration; but the

price, which they paid for their offices, was proportionably higher; and the whole sum received by any judge for his *épices*, perquisites, and other remunerations, fell short of the interest of the money which he paid for the charge; so that, virtually, the French judges administered justice, not only without salary, but even with some pecuniary loss. Their real remuneration was the rank and consideration which their office gave them in society, and the respect and regard of their fellow-citizens. How well does this illustrate Montesquieu's aphorism, that the principle of the French monarchy was honour! It may be truly said, that the world has not produced a more learned, enlightened, or honourable order of men, than the French magistracy.

Englishmen are much scandalized when they are informed that the *French judges were personally solicited* by the suitors in court, their families and protectors, and by any other person whom the suitors thought likely to influence the decision of the cause in their favour. But it all amounted to nothing: to all these solicitations the judges listened with equal external reverence, and internal indifference; and they availed themselves of the first moment, when it could be done with decency, to bow the parties respectfully out of the room:—it was a *corvée* on their time, which they most bitterly lamented.

III. 3.

On the Limits of the Right of Courts of Judicature to interpret Laws.

MANY distinguished magistrates and advocates in France were declared enemies to the *latitude of legal interpretation*, in which the parliaments of France—(the reader will bear in mind, that we consider them only as courts of judicature)—too frequently indulged themselves.

It was of two sorts. Sometimes they signified their interpretation of law by *arrêts*, a species of judicial edict, having the effect of law within the jurisdiction of the parliament by which it was issued. To this kind of semi-legislative interpretation of law, nothing in England bears any resemblance. On other occasions, the French parliaments interpreted the law, as it is generally done in courts of justice, by decisions on dubious points of law. Their interpretation of it by *arrêts* was frequently censured, as amounting in effect to an act of legislation; they were also reproached with carrying interpretation too far, in their decisions.

In the redaction of the Code Civil de Napoléon, this was a subject of much discussion. It gave rise to the fifth article of the preliminary title,—"On the publication, and effects and application of the laws." The existence and extent

of the mischief was admitted; some proposed, by way of remedy, an article, expressing "that "the judges should be forbidden to interpret the "law by general and prospective regulations." To this, others objected, on the ground, that all interpretation of law was prohibited to judges, according to the maxim of the civil law, *imperatoris est interpretari legem.* To this, it was replied, that there were two sorts of interpretation, one of legislation, the other of doctrine; that the first was prohibited to the judges, but that the second was essential to their office. The result of the discussion was, that, as the two sorts of interpretation were not easily distinguishable, it was better to omit the word interpretation from the article. It stands, therefore, in these words: "It is forbidden to the judge, to pronounce, by "way of general and regulating disposition, on "the causes which come before them.—Il est de-"fendu au juge, de prononcer par voie de la "disposition generale et reglémentaire, sur les "causes qui leur sont soumises."

That the right of interpretation should be vested in judges, no reasonable person can deny; but, to what extent it should be allowed, or, in other words, to ascertain the exact point where judicial interpretation should stop, and legislative interpretation be called in, is a question of extreme difficulty. An English lawyer will per-

haps admit, without any hesitation, that the decision of our courts, that after-purchased estates shall not pass by a previous will, was an exposition of the meaning of the word "having," in the statute of wills, which the courts were allowed to make, by the strictest rules of judicial interpretation; but he will, at least, doubt whether the preservation of uses, under the application of trusts, both against the words and against the spirit of the statute of uses, was not a subject more proper for legislative than judicial provision*.

* The Reminiscent has frequently wished for leisure to compose a regular review of the *code civil*, the master-piece of Buonaparte's legislation, and likely to become the civil code of the whole European continent.

He was particularly pleased with the discussion *On the Interpretation of Laws*, with which the *Discussions sur le Code Civil* commence. He begs leave to detain his readers for a short time on this important subject.

He has long thought that no work would be more useful than one, which should show, where interpretation should stop, and legislation begin. The extent and uncertainty in the civil law, and, we are sorry to add, of our own, is chiefly owing to the want of ascertaining and observing this boundary. As far as the Reminiscent can learn, the French courts of justice have shown greater moderation than our own, in the exercise of this important privilege of judicature. 1. The introduction of the practice of barring entails by common recoveries and fines, which the judges interpreted to be real, though they knew them to be fictitious processes: 2. The preservation,—already noticed,—of uses under the appella-

III. 4.

Separation of Courts of Law and Equity.

EQUITY, as distinguished from law, arises from the inability of human foresight to establish

tion of trusts, in the teeth of a solemn act of the legislature: 3. The various modes by which verbal agreements are supported against the statute of frauds: 4. And the doctrine that notice of a deed shall supply the want of its registration, though otherwise essential to its validity,—are but a small proportion of the instances, in which the decisions of our courts have had something very like legislative enactment.

In the instance last cited, the courts of law of England and France are directly at variance: this circumstance appears to the Reminiscent to deserve particular mention.

Several points of the laws of France, respecting substitutions,—(or entails),—being unsettled, and the laws respecting them being different in different parts of the kingdom, they were all reduced into one law, by the celebrated ordonnance of August 1747. That ordonnance was framed by the chancellor d'Aguesseau, after taking the sentiments of every parliament in the kingdom, upon forty-five different questions. The thirty-ninth question is, "whether a creditor or purchaser, having notice of the substitution,"—(that is, of the entail), "before his contract or purchase, is to be admitted "to plead the want of its registration?" All the parliaments, except the parliament of Flanders, agreed that he was; that, to admit the contrary doctrine, would make it always open to argument, whether the party had or had not notice of the substitution; that this would lead to endless uncertainty, confusion, and perjury; and that it was much better that the rights of subjects should depend upon certain and fixed principles of law, than upon rules and constructions of equity,

any rule, which, however salutary in general, is not, in some particular cases, evidently unjust and oppressive. A question has been frequently made, whether the judicial administration of law and equity ought to be committed to the same, or to different courts. "In some states,"

which must be arbitrary and consequently uncertain. The ordonnance of August 1747 was framed accordingly. Those, who have commented upon that ordonnance, lay it down as a fixed and undeniable principle, that nothing, not even the most actual and direct notice, countervails the want of registration; so that, if a person be a witness, or even a party to the deed of substitution or entail, still, if it be not registered, he may safely purchase the property substituted, or lend money upon a mortgage of it *. Thus the legislature of France having made the registration of a deed necessary, in some instances, to its validity, its courts of justice refused to except from the general provision, those cases, where a subsequent purchaser or mortgagee of the property has notice of the deed, and is not therefore injured by its want of registration. A contrary system has been adopted by the courts of equity of this country: many and great inconveniences have followed, and we believe that its adoption is now generally lamented.

* See "Questions concernant les Substitutions, Toulouse, "1770;" and "Commentaire de l'Ordonnance de Louis XV, "par M. Furgole, à Paris, 1767." It is remarkable that the same principle has been received into the *Code Civil de Napoléon.* See articles 1060 and 1072.

Perhaps interpretative legislation was never carried so far as in the decisions upon the Annuity Act of 1777.

says Lord Bacon*, " that jurisdiction, which " decrees according to equity and moral right, " and that which decides according to strict " right, is committed to the same court; in " others, they are committed to different courts. " We entirely opine for the separation of the " courts: for the distinction of the cases will " not long be attended to, if the jurisdictions " meet in the same person; and the will of the " judge will then master the law."

The grand reason for the interference of a court of equity is, that the imperfection of legal remedy, in consequence of the universality of its provisions, may be redressed. Hence, for a length of time after the introduction of equitable judicature into this country, it was thought necessary that, before equity should interfere, this imperfection should be manifested by the party's previously proceeding at law, so far as to show from its result, the want or inadequacy of legal redress, and his claim for equitable relief. This inflicted upon him two judicial suits, and consequently a double expense. To remedy this grievance, it became the practice, particularly from the time when the seals were entrusted to Lord Cowper, to dispense with the previous legal suit, when the want or inadequacy of the legal remedy to be obtained by it, was evident.

* De Aug. Scient. l. viii. c. 3. aph. 45.

Still, in many cases, this separation of the courts makes a double suit necessary. When the facts of a case, as they appear in a suit, are so doubtful that the chancellor will not undertake to pronounce upon them, he always sends them for a trial at law. In the same manner, when the construction of a limitation of an equitable estate is very doubtful, he frequently sends it to the judges of a legal court, to receive from them the interpretation of it; but ultimately he exercises his own judgment on its merits. Add to this, that, in many cases, the controversy as to some part of the property is legal, and as to the other, equitable, and then the courts and the evidence admitted by them being different, distinct pleading and distinct evidence must be produced for each suit.

In every event, the separation of the courts inflicts on every suitor the necessity of determining a preliminary point, always of great importance, and sometimes of extreme difficulty, whether his case is to be governed by the rules of law or by the rules of equity. But the difficulty does not rest here, as the complainant is often ignorant whether he is to be resisted by a legal or an equitable defence, and must therefore be ignorant to which judicature it is advisable for him to resort. As far as the researches of the Reminiscent on this subject have

extended, they have led him to believe that the separation of the courts is peculiar to England.

He begs leave to take this opportunity of mentioning an observation, which has occurred to him in the perusal of the decisions of foreign courts of justice, and the works of foreign jurists. Whoever peruses either our books of reports, or our legal publications, must observe the countless citations in them of adjudged cases, and the great paucity of references in them to legal publications. On the other hand, adjudged cases are very seldom cited in foreign books of reports, or in foreign legal publications. This is a curious circumstance: the Reminiscent has frequently remarked of this to foreign lawyers of the greatest eminence, but never heard it satisfactorily accounted for.

III. 5.

Redactions and Reforms of the French Customary and Statute Law—The Code Napoleon.

The reader will not, perhaps, be displeased with a further notice of the Code Napoleon; but we must first mention a noble undertaking which had been carried on for a considerable length of time in France, and was near its completion, when, with many other extensive and salutary projects, it was overturned by the

revolution. We allude to the redaction and reformation of the customary laws of its different provinces.

We learn that this design was conceived in the reign of Charles the seventh. Soon after he expelled the English from France, he published an ordonnance, by which he directed all the customs and usages of his kingdom to be committed to writing, to be verified by the practitioners of each place, and to be sanctioned by the great council and parliament; and he ordered that the customs, thus sanctioned, and those only, should have the force of law; but, such were the obstacles in the way of this measure, that forty-two years elapsed before the customs of any one place were verified. From that time, the measure lingered till the reign of Lewis the twelfth; it was then resumed; and about the year 1609, the redaction of the customs was completed. Those of Paris, Orleans, Normandy, and some others, were soon afterwards reformed: those of Artois and St. Omer's underwent a similar revision about the middle of the last century; and the reformation of the others was nearly finished. The ultimate object of the plan was to abolish all local customs; and, from the general body of the customary law, and the doctrines of the civil law, to establish an uniformity of jurisprudence throughout the king-

dom. It was a favourite object of the Chancellor d'Aguesseau; and he had digested it into a regular plan.

In the reign of Louis the fourteenth, much was done for the improvement of the national jurisprudence of France: the French lawyers speak in the highest terms of several of his ordonnances; we are assured by them that they contain the wisest and most salutary regulations, methodically arranged, and clearly expressed. Certain it is, that, in every maritime state of Europe, his *Ordonnance sur la Marine* is read and admired. The late Mr. Sergeant Hill always mentioned it in terms of the very highest praise. During the reign of Louis the fifteenth, little was accomplished in the prosecution of this object: but, in the early days of the French revolution, its admirers foretold the wonderful improvements which it would effect in government and law. Other constitutions, it was said, had been fortuitously framed; their parts had been composed to meet present emergencies, and constituted no systematic whole; they contained many discordant principles, many jarring forms, much unmixed evil, some imperfect good, many institutions which had long survived their motive, and many of which reason had never been the author, or utility the object. The legislators of the revolution were to produce a very

different code. *They* were to tolerate nothing of antiquity which reason did not respect; to shrink from no novelty, to which reason might lead; to despise narrow coastings, and to hazard, under the polarity of reason, a bolder navigation; to discover, in unexplored regions, the treasure of public felicity; and to diffuse it, in their legislative enactments, through every portion of the Gallic empire. Such were the splendid prophecies of the effects of the new jurisprudence;—it is unnecessary to add how little the effects of *the new constitution* corresponded with the prediction;—yet, let us be just, if it had not been for the unwise and illaudable coalition of Austria and Prussia against France, and their invasion of her territory, the constitutional assembly *might* have done good.

The fate of the first legislators of the revolution did not deprive them of a tribe of imitators.

In the midst of his victories, Buonaparte aspired to legislative fame. The Reminiscent apprehends, that the five codes of law, compiled under the eye of Buonaparte, though in some respects justly objectionable, will always be honourable to his memory. He himself thought so favourably of them, as to express to a friend of the Reminiscent, a wish, that he might descend to posterity with these in his hands. It

is greatly to be desired, that some one, properly qualified for the task, would favour the public with a comparative view of their leading principles, and those of the law of England. Unfortunately, such a work can be expected from none but a person, who is at once conversant with the principles, the theory, and the practice of the jurisprudence of both countries: —and *Romilly* is now no more.

The *Discussions sur le Code Civil* show the manner in which that code was compiled: Buonaparte appears in them to great advantage. The magistrates who assisted at them possessed unquestionably great talents; but Buonaparte frequently enters the lists with them, generally shows himself their equal, at times their superior, and always takes the humane and liberal side. It adds to his honour, that between him and his assessors, no distinction of rank is ever discernible: Pliny could not act with greater ease, or speak with more freedom before Trajan, than the assessors of Buonaparte acted and spoke before him.

III. 6.

The order of Avocâts in France, and its extinction in the French Revolution.

THE French avocât nearly resembled, in rank and function, the English barrister. In the very earliest era of the history of France, her lawyers formed a distinguished portion of her community: even in the reign of Tiberius, the city of Autun had schools of eloquence and law, which contained 60,000 students. In 297, they were under the direction of the orator Eumenius, with a salary of 600,000 sesterces, or about 2,880*l.* of our money. The schools of Toulouse, Bourdeaux, Marseilles, Lyons, Trèves, and Besançon, were also celebrated. When the Francs possessed themselves of Gaul, they respected the profession of an avocât, and their most powerful nobles solicited the office of avoué or avocât of a religious or civil community; but, in those turbulent times, it was as much a military as a civil advocation. The profession of avocât maintained its consideration till the division of the Francic empire among the sons of Charlemagne in 814. In the troubles which immediately followed that event, it almost vanished; but it reappeared to advantage in the reign of St. Louis. The parliament of France

was made sedentary at Paris by Philip le Bel; and soon after this event the avocâts were formed into a distinct class, with many rights, and under many obligations, by the ordonnances of 1327 and 1344 of Philip de Valois; but, disdaining the more common denomination of a *body*, they assumed, in analogy to the order of the nobility, and the order of the clergy, the denomination of *l'Ordre des Avocâts.*

Bartoli, the oracle of the law in the fourteenth century, asserted * that at the end of the tenth year of successful professional exertion, the avocât became ipso facto, *a knight.* A more moderate opinion assigned to him, at that period of his career, no more than a fair claim to the honour of forensic knighthood. It has not been discovered by the Reminiscent, that a forensic order of knighthood was ever known in England; but in France, Italy and Germany, it was an order frequently conferred on the successful practitioner at the bar. When it was applied for, the king commissioned some ancient knight of the forensic order to admit the postulant into it. The postulant knelt before the knight-commissary, and said, "I pray you, my "lord and my protector, to dress me with the "sword, belt, golden spurs, golden collar, "golden ring, and all the other ornaments of a

* Ad librum 1. Cod. de professoribus.

" true knight. I will not use the advantages of " knighthood for profane purposes; I will use " them only for the purposes of religion, for " the church, and the holy Christian faith, in " *the warfare of the science* to which I am " devoted." The postulant then rose; and, being fully equipped, and girded with the sword, he became, for all purposes, a member of the order of knighthood, and entitled to a full participation of all the rights of military knights. In the Memoirs of the Maréschal de Vielle-Ville, who died in 1571, such knights are mentioned as very common, and treated by the old maréschal somewhat disrespectfully, though one of his own sons-in-law was a knight of that description.—It does not appear that they wore their equestrian costume in the courts; but, as Beaumanoir declares it to have been a general rule, in his time, that the avocât, who was followed by one horse only, should not have as large a fee as an avocât who was followed by two, three, four, or more horses, we must suppose they were attended to the courts by esquires.

In many of the most distinguished civil and ecclesiastical events in the French history, as the two disputes on the Salique law, the troubles of the Jacquerie, the disputes between Pope Boniface and Philip le Bel, in the League and

Fronde, and the recent disputes on Jansenism, the order of avocâts acted an important part.

On several occasions the order proceeded in direct opposition to the crown. In general, the parliament led the way in them, and the order fought under their banners. In these contests, when matters came to an extremity, the parliament and the avocâts discontinued their functions. This amounted to an absolute suspension of justice, and the disputes generally terminated by the submission of the monarch.

In 1771, the parliaments, and many leading avocâts, were banished, and new courts of justice were established. At the end of three years, the king found it necessary to recal the banished members, and restore the ancient courts.

In 1790, the French National Assembly determined on an entire new organization of the administration of justice, but were not unwilling to preserve the subsisting members of the order of avocâts, who, with the numerous associates which the new order of things must necessarily give them, should practise in the courts to be established for the administration of justice under the new régime. The leading avocâts of Paris, after several meetings on the subject, rejected the plan. They foresaw that the new avocâts would have nothing of the learning, the

principles, the character, or public respect of the *order*. The public, they said, will confound the latter with the former. "To avoid such a "posterity, our only means, they said, is to "suppress our name and our order, so that, "after we shall cease to exist, there shall be no "avocât in France. Sole depositaries of that "noble state, let us not permit it to be sullied "by transmitting it to successors, unworthy of "us. We pray, therefore, for its instant ex-"tinction."

The assembly was moved to tears by this discourse, and, in compliance with it, on the 11th of September 1795, suppressed the order of avocâts, their name, their costume, and every thing else that belonged to them. "Thus pe-"rished," says the writer, from whom these details have been extracted, "this celebrated cor-"poration, which, under the name of l'Ordre "des Avocâts, had counted 427 years of a bril-"liant existence, and the renown of which had "spread over all Europe *."

Throughout the whole of this article the Reminiscent has particularly availed himself of an excellent work especially recommended to him by the late sir Samuel Romilly, "De l'origine

* Histoire des Avocâts au Parlement et au Bureau de Paris, depuis St. Louis jusqu'au 15 Octobre 1790. Par M. Tournel, ancien avocât au parlement de Paris.

" et du progrès de la législation Française, ou " l'histoire du droit public et privé de la France, " depuis la fondation de la monarchie, jusques " et compris la Révolution. Par M. Bernardi, " de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions, et " Belles Lettres, Paris, 8vo. 1806."

III. 7.

Some Remarks on the English Law of Property.

THE actual jurisprudence of the law of England is not entitled to the praise of simplicity: that branch of it which the Reminiscent has professed during almost half a century—the jurisprudence of its real property—is singularly and surprisingly complicated.

This is occasioned principally by five circumstances:—1. The perpetual conflict between the law of tenure and the law of contract. During many centuries, all the real property of the nation was governed by the former, and the latter was not judicially acknowledged. When it was introduced under the appellation of trusts, the obligations on which it depended were merely honorary, and to give them effect it was found necessary to invest the court of chancery with powers unknown to the laws and constitution of the country. This produced the distinct and discordant classes of legal and equitable rights,

and of legal and equitable courts for enforcing them. 2. The same cause produced differences in real and personal property, in the important articles of succession and settlement. In the civil law, these differences are altogether unknown. 3. The feudal restriction of alienation did not exist in the civil law; the devices to elude it had, therefore, no existence in it; and, consequently, it was without the abstruse and complicated doctrines of discontinuances, lineal and collateral warranties, fines and recoveries. 4. The substitutions of the Roman law were extremely simple; our entails are singularly complicated; the consequence has been, that the modifications of property, received into the law of England, are numerous and refined, and years of profound study are necessary to enable a person to acquire a full and accurate knowledge of their nature and incidents. 5. According to the English law, property, speaking generally, cannot be settled without the intervention of trustees; the consequence is, that half the property of the land is vested in nominal owners; and a multitude of very nice cases incessantly occur, in which it is difficult to ascertain whether third persons are safe in dealing for fiduciary property with its trustee, without the concurrence of the beneficial owner. In most countries, on the continent, the claims of the beneficial owner on

the trustee are personal upon him, and the trustee is the real owner, for all purposes, in respect to the public.

It must, however, be added, that the judicial system of property received in England, though complicated, is perfect, both in theory and for practical objects. Every intelligent person must consider with admiration, how completely a marriage settlement or a will, when it is properly prepared, confers the beneficial ownership on the temporary possessor, for every legitimate purpose, while his abuse of it is prevented. He must also admire the good sense, with which the present system of entailing property has been formed; which, while it provides for the perpetuation of a numerous and respectable aristocracy, leaves a sufficient proportion of land in commerce, to answer the demands of individuals, and to effectuate the general policy of the nation, that the owners of personal property should both have opportunities of realizing it, and be allured to its realization by the superior stability of landed property, and the importance which the ownership of it confers.

This, it is known, has been effected by the establishment of a general rule, that the absolute ownership of property may be suspended from vesting in any person during any number of lives in being at the time of the creation of the

entail, and a further period of twenty-one years; but that, at the end of this period, the entail in some cases ceases of itself, and in others may be barred. The series of decisions by which this salutary rule has been established, may be traced to the time of Charles the second, and was not perfected till the last reign. However abstruse and complicated it may be, the system is coherent; the decisions upon which it is founded are countless, but they all converge to the same result,—an incontestible proof of the great good sense, the profound knowledge of law, and the mature deliberation, with which these decisions were framed.

The complicated nature of the modification of property in England has given its legal instruments a length unknown on the continent; but even on the continent, the length of legal instruments has been an incessant subject both of complaint and ridicule. Considering the multitude of combinations, of which even the most ordinary and simple transactions are susceptible, the necessity of providing for them all, and the accuracy of the terms in which this must be effected, it is obvious that some prolixity and minuteness of form, and some verbosity of language are necessary. But it admits of no doubt that these have been carried to excess: this has been most sensibly felt since the stamp laws have added so

considerably to the expense of legal instruments and forensic proceedings. Of late a great disposition has existed in the profession to shorten legal instruments, and to expunge much of their unnecessary tautology. To this system of curtailment, the Reminiscent hopes that he and his school will be thought to have contributed; but much yet, certainly, remains to be done.

III. 8.

Course of Study of the Law of Real Property recommended.

HERE the Reminiscent begs leave to mention the best mode of acquiring the knowledge of the law of England respecting property, which his experience suggests.

The student should begin by reading "*Littleton's Tenures,*" with extreme attention, meditating on every word, and framing every section into a diagram; abstaining altogether from the commentary, but perusing "*Gilbert's Tenures.*" —After this, he should peruse "*Sir Martin Wright's Tenures, and Mr. Watkins's Treatise on Descents;*" and then give Littleton's Tenures a second perusal. After this second perusal of the text, he should peruse it a third time, with "*the Commentary of Lord Coke,*" and afterwards

peruse "*Sheppard's Touchstone,*" *in Mr. Preston's invaluable edition* of that work. The Reminiscent presumes to suggest, that the student may then usefully peruse "*the notes on feuds,* "*on uses, and on trusts,*" in the last edition of Coke upon Littleton; and then once more read Littleton and Coke, and *the notes of the last editors.*

The Reminiscent may appear to recommend too much attention to Littleton and Coke: but he never yet has met with a person, thoroughly conversant in the law of real property, who did not think with him,—that *he* is the best lawyer, and will succeed best in his profession, who best understands Coke upon Littleton. Against one error, he begs leave to caution, in a particular manner, the student:—not to suspect, for a moment, that, because he himself does not see the utility of what he reads in this work, or the application of the part of it which he is reading, to any practical purpose, it is therefore useless. There is not in the whole of the golden book, a single line, which the student will not, in his professional career, find, on more than one occasion, eminently useful.

Being thus saturated with the venerable black letter, he should peruse, but with the most profound attention, "*Mr. Saunders's Treatise on* "*Uses and Trusts, and Mr. Preston's Treatises* "*on Fines and Recoveries,*" and then proceed to

"*Mr. Fearne's Essay on Contingent Remainders,* "*and Mr. Sugden's on Powers.*"—After this, he should read for law, "*Plowden's Commentaries;*" for equity, the *article* "*Chancery,*" *in Comyns's Abridgment;*" comparing it throughout with "*Mr. Peere Williams's Reports,*" *in Mr. Cox's* edition, and reading all the cases to which these refer.—His own experience and feelings will then direct his future studies.

But, in the outset of his study, he should place himself with some professional gentleman engaged in drawing conveyances or forensic proceedings; and, as far as it is compatible with this engagement, should attend the courts of justice.

The whole course of study suggested by the Reminiscent may be achieved in four years, if they are employed in the manner described in the well-known verses of lord Coke,—

Sex horas somno, totidem des legibus æquis,
Quatuor orabis, des epulisque duas,
Quod superest, sacris ultro largire camœnis*.

* When the jesuits settled the plan of education to be observed in the College de Clermont, the physicians were consulted on the portion of time, which the students should be allowed for sleep: they declared that five hours were a sufficient, six an abundant allowance, and seven as much as a youthful constitution would bear without injury.

The college falling into decay, it was re-edified by Louis the fourteenth, and received the appellation of the College de Louis le Grand. Upon this occasion, a poetical exercise alluding to it was required from the students.—The city of

It remains for the Reminiscent to enter his protest against the general opinion, that the law is a dry and unpleasant study: such he never found it, and such, he believes, it has never been found by any person, who with natural and acquired endowments has applied himself to it, with a determined resolution not to be disheartened by its first difficulties.

"I am not afraid to affirm," says Cicero, with honest or affected prejudice, "that the brief "compositions of the Decemvirs surpass in ge- "nuine value, the libraries of Grecian philoso- "phers." Gray, with more moderation and justness, says in one of his letters to Mr. West, "laws have been the result of long deliberation; "and that not of dull men, but the contrary; "and have so close a connexion with history, "nay with philosophy itself, that they must "partake of what they are related to so nearly."

Nola had recently given them the Collegio nel Arco, and they were in possession of the College de la Flêche, in France. Alluding to these, a saucy boy wrote the following verses, and the professor good humouredly assigned him the prize:—

"Arcum Nola dedit patribus, dedit alma Sagitam
"Flexia,—quis funem quam meruêre, dabit."

The saucy boy was afterwards the cardinal de Polignac.

It is observable that lord Coke, by his verses in the text, recommends to his students, just twice as much time for prayer, and twice as much for their meals, as the jesuits prescribed to their students.

IV.

THE REMINISCENT'S ESSAY ON HOUSES OF INDUSTRY—MR. PITT'S BILL FOR THE RELIEF OF THE POOR.

THE Reminiscent must now introduce himself to his readers.

He first appeared before the public, in an anonymous *Essay on Houses of Industry*,—one of the many well-meant, but unavailing attempts, which were made during the last century, to ameliorate the condition of the poor. The county of Norfolk, which had been long split into a court and a country party, was divided in opinion on the probable utility of the scheme. It was advocated by the former, and there was a difference of sentiment among the latter. Sir Harbord Harbord, afterwards advanced to a peerage under the title of Baron Suffield, and Mr. Chad, afterwards created a baronet,—the friend of the Reminiscent through life,—opposed it: Mr. Potter, the translator of Æschylus, wrote a pamphlet in advocation of it, and to this, by the desire of Sir Harbord Harbord and Mr. Chad, the writer replied by the essay, which he has mentioned. It had some circulation in the county, but very little beyond it. The writer has not seen it within the

last forty years, and has even forgotten its title. He thinks it was published in 1773.

The success of the plan appeared to him problematical:—he recollects that he then began to entertain an opinion, which now seems general, that, in the whole system of the poor laws, there is something radically, but incurably wrong*.—A gentleman, on whose authority he thinks he can depend, told him, that Mr. Pitt, being on a visit in Essex, descanted with great satisfaction, on the prosperous state of the country, and particularly, on the comfortable condition of the poor. His host let the discourse drop; but contrived that, on the following day, Mr. Pitt should walk into the adjoining town of Halsted. It presented to him a spectacle of the utmost poverty and wretchedness:—he surveyed it for some time in wonder and silence; and then declared that he had no conception that England presented, in any part of it, such a scene: he made a liberal donation to its distressed inhabitants, and soon afterwards brought into parliament a bill for the

* Mr. Malthus's plan of starvation *may be* a proper punishment of parents marrying improvidently: but the children,—what have they done to deserve the famishing of them?

Perhaps no institution has encouraged or provided so well for the celibacy of those, who have not the means of maintaining their offspring, as monasteries:—with persons of that description, these institutions were and still are principally filled.

relief of the poor.—Nothing can show the unmanageable nature of the subject more than the fate of this bill: a slight discussion of it discovered the impracticability of it in all its parts;—yet Mr. Pitt possessed talents of uncommon magnitude, and had every assistance in forming and arranging the bill, which the experience and ingenuity of others could supply.

V.

THE REMINISCENT'S ESSAY ON IMPRESSING SEAMEN—EARL OF SANDWICH.

THE writer's next publication, was a pamphlet of somewhat greater consequence, intituled,—An "ESSAY ON THE LEGALITY OF IMPRESSING "SEAMEN:" it was more favourably received, and went through two editions. It introduced the writer to the acquaintance of the earl of Sandwich, then the first lord of the admiralty some pages in the second edition were written by his lordship. It first appeared in the year 1778. —It was occasioned by some attempts, which were made, at that time, to persuade the seamen, that the practice of impressing was contrary both to the law and to the constitution of Great Britain. This notion was particularly patronized by the honourable Temple Luttrell, an active member of the opposition. Ministers were afraid of the consequences, and lord North desired the late Mr. Thomas Astle, the keeper of the records in the Tower,—a gentleman singularly respected and loved,—to procure a publication in its defence. He proposed it to the Reminiscent. This gave rise to the pamphlet we have mentioned: it was much read, and was even said to settle the question.

The principal arguments and authorities which it contained, were taken from the speech of sir Michael Foster, (formerly recorder of Bristol, and afterwards deservedly advanced to be one of the judges of the court of King's Bench), in the case of Alexander Broadfoot, indicted for the murder of a sailor, who was one of a party that endeavoured to impress him. Some additional facts and arguments are adduced in the Reminiscent's pamphlet; but, on a recent perusal of it, he found these so few, that, particularly as the subject has long ceased to be a topic of discussion, he would not give it a place in the general collection of his works.

The pamphlet was dedicated to lord Loughborough, at this time his majesty's solicitor-general, and procured for the Reminiscent repeated instances of the good-will of that distinguished person. The public did not do his lordship justice: his dereliction of the whigs, to whom he had originally attached himself, in his political career, excited a prejudice against him, from which he never recovered. But his talents, his munificence, his steadiness in friendship, and his literary endowments, it is impossible to deny: the Reminiscent found him on every occasion a warm and an active friend.

VI.

THE SPEECH OF THE LATE EARL OF SANDWICH, IN DEFENCE OF HIS ADMINISTRATION OF GREENWICH HOSPITAL—LORD ERSKINE'S FIRST SPEECH.

IT has been mentioned, that his essay on the legality of impressing Seamen, introduced the writer to the earl of Sandwich. In 1779, a captain Baillie published a work, which severely reflected on his lordship's administration of GREENWICH HOSPITAL; it accused him of neglect and corruption, and of conferring several places of rank and emolument in the hospital on landmen; and thus making its patronage subservient to his lordship's Huntingdonshire politics. His lordship moved, in the court of King's Bench, for an information against the captain. Mr. Erskine defended him: it was the first time that he advocated a cause in any court of justice; and never did a first speech elevate an advocate, so instantly, into eminence; he retained it until, at the close of his forensic career, he was advanced to the office of chancellor.

The eloquence of this remarkable man, was an era at the bar. His addresses to juries have not

been equalled; they alike captivated their understandings, their imaginations, and their passions. He often rose to the highest oratory; but it was always simple; and even in his sublimest flights, there was much that was very familiar; but this rather set off than clouded their splendour, rather increased than diminished their general effect. His skill in the conduct of a cause, and in the examination of witnesses, has never been surpassed: his discretion never forsook him; his manners were always most gentlemanly; at the bar he was uniformly loved and admired; and, when he accepted the seals, no one, as lord Eldon justly remarked of him, could have a greater wish to discharge properly the office, which was conferred on him, or greater talents to qualify him for a proper discharge of it. A true friend to constitutional liberty, he was its constant and animated advocate; but he never failed in respect to the crown, or sacrificed to the prejudices or vagaries of the populace.

His speech against the information for which lord Sandwich applied was successful: the information was refused, and prejudice ran high against the noble peer. This produced an inquiry, in the house of lords, into his lordship's management of Greenwich hospital. It was conducted by the duke of Richmond with ability,

and the most pertinacious and persevering industry. Lord Sandwich entrusted his defence to the Reminiscent:—his labour was great,—and, as it led to no information that could be of use to him on any future occasion, it was most ungrateful. He prepared the speech, which his lordship delivered in his defence: it was most favourably received both by the house and the public:—some other papers circulated by his lordship on this occasion were also prepared by him.

Lord Sandwich might serve as a model for a man of business.—He rose early, he often appointed the Reminiscent to attend him at six o'clock in the morning; and his time, from that hour, till a late dinner, was wholly dedicated to business: he was very methodical; slow, but not wearisome, cautious but not suspicious, rather a man of sense than a man of talent; had much real good nature; his promises might be relied on. His manners partook of the old court; and he possessed, in a singular degree, the art of attaching persons of every rank to him. Few houses were more pleasant or instructive than his lordship's: it was filled with rank, beauty and talent, and every one was at ease. He professed to be fond of music, and musicians flocked to him; he was the soul of the catch club, and one of the

directors of the concert of ancient music;—but, —(which is the case of more than one noble and more than one gentle amateur),—he had not the least real ear for music, and was equally insensible of harmony and melody.

VII.

LETTER ON JUNIUS.

ABOUT this time, the Reminiscent amused himself in an inquiry, the result of which he afterwards stated in a private letter to a friend, who, without his knowledge, almost immediately published it in the Anti-jacobin Review. As it is a very harmless production, and contains some particulars on a subject, in which the public has taken and still continues to take great interest, —the authorship of the celebrated letters under the name of JUNIUS,—the writer gives it a place in these pages.

The inquiry was made by him in conjunction with the celebrated Mr. Wilkes,—a delightful and instructive companion,—but too often offensive by his freedom of speech, when religion or the sex was mentioned. The writer's acquaintance with him did not begin till his political turmoils were at an end. In his manner and habits, he was an elegant epicurean, yet it was evident to all his intimates that he feared,

"Manes aliquos et subterranea regna."—HOR.

In his real politics he was an aristocrat, and would much rather have been a favoured courtier at Versailles, than the most commanding orator in St. Stephen's chapel. His distresses threw

him into politics; he assumed the character of a staunch whig, and all must admit his consistency.

He thought highly of the talents and firmness of the late king,—and was persuaded that a ministry protected by him could not, without some singular blunder, or some event singularly unlucky, be shaken by any opposition. He predicted that the coalition between lord North and Mr. Fox would produce a total disbelief of the public virtue of the Corinthian order of politicians, and create a party equally hostile to ministers and the opposition-aristocracy. He said, that the distinction which has been supposed to exist between the friends of the king and the friends of the minister, originated in the councils of lord Bath, when he went over to the ministry, on his dereliction of the popular party. The influence of the crown, he described to be irresistible.

In one of the conversations, which Mr. Fox permitted the writer of these pages to hold with him, that great man expressed the same opinion on the magnitude of this influence. He said that no one could conceive its extent and effect, who had not had opportunities of observing its direct or indirect operation on every state and condition of life.—"While Mr. Pitt," he said, "was in "office, you all attributed, in some degree at "least, his overwhelming majorities, to his talents

" and eloquence: these, I am as willing, as any " other man can be, to admit; but you now have " Mr. Addington, and the majorities do not de- " crease."—Might it not have been observed to Mr. Fox, that he himself had in some measure been the cause of these majorities? Had there been no coalition, no India bill, nothing in short in the politics of Mr. Fox, which had prejudiced, —it may be unjustly,—a very large portion of the people of England against him, might not he and the illustrious band, which surrounded him, have been able, we will not say to make the minister surrender at discretion, but to lessen considerably his majorities, and thus reduce him to terms? Perhaps the existence of this overpowering influence, so often mentioned, and so seldom justly appreciated, may be thought questionable, until we shall behold an opposition formed of men not only of eminent talents and high honour, but possessing the full, the warm, and the active attachment and co-operation of the general body of the people.

Mr. Wilkes abounded in anecdote; and wit was so constantly at his command, that wagers have been gained, that from the time he quitted his home near Story's Gate, till he reached Guildhall, no one would address him, who would leave him without a smile, or a hearty laugh. Notwithstanding their feuds, lord Sandwich and

he were partial to each other. On one occasion, the Reminiscent, not having been quite punctual in time to an appointment, which lord Sandwich had made for him, it was, (not good-naturedly), mentioned to his lordship, that the Reminiscent dined with Mr. Wilkes:—"Well then," said lord Sandwich, "the fascination of Wilkes "has made me break appointments so often, that "it is but fair he should make a person once "break his appointment with me."

Wilkes frequently noticed the multitude of peers created during Mr. Pitt's administration, as a circumstance likely to be attended with an important consequence, not generally foreseen:—"While the relation between the minister and "the new made peers shall subsist, their sub-"serviency," he used to say, "to his measures "will continue; but, when this relation ceases, "the probability is, that, as succeeding ministers "will not have the means of attaching them, they "will form a silent sulky opposition,—a dead "weight on every administration. Will it not "then be found that the descendants of these "new peers will be mutes to strangle his suc-"cessors?"

Mr. Wilkes had written the history of his life; and earnestly requested the Reminiscent to be his executor, under a condition of printing it entire and unaltered. With this view he indulged

the writer with the perusal of it; the writer declined the charge: he has been informed that, on the death of Mr. Wilkes, the cover of the book was found with all the leaves of it cut out.

One of the amusements of Mr. Wilkes and the Reminiscent was an attempt to discover the author of Junius's Letters. With this view, we perused all of them with great attention, examined many of the originals, collected and sifted all the anecdotes we could learn, and weighed all the opinions and conjectures which we could hear of. The result is generally stated in the letter, to which the Reminiscent has alluded, and which he will now transcribe.

"Dear Sir,

"THE conversations I had with Mr. Wilkes, on the subject of Junius's Letters, took place from 1776 to about 1784, during which time I lived with him in great intimacy; he even entrusted me with the manuscript memoirs of his life. In his public or political parties I never mixed, but I lived much with him in private; there, he appeared to the greatest advantage; he was highly respected and loved by those who lived with him on that footing, and I think, with great pleasure, that I was one of them.

"Far from giving the least hint that he was the author of Junius's Letters, he always explicitly disclaimed it, and treated it as a ridiculous

supposition. No one acquainted with his style can suspect, for a moment, that he was the author of them; the merit of his style was simplicity; he had both gaiety and strength, but to the rancorous sarcasms, the lofty contempt, with which Junius's Letters abound, no one was a greater stranger than Mr. Wilkes. To this may be added, the very slighting manner in which Junius expresses himself of Mr. Wilkes. I am willing to admit, that if Mr. Wilkes had written Junius's Letters, he would have treated Mr. Wilkes uncivilly, for the sake of disguising himself. But sneer, and particularly that kind of sneer, which Mr. Wilkes occasionally receives from Junius, you may be assured, Mr. Wilkes could never have used in speaking of himself. With respect, therefore, to his having said to your friend that, "at his ascension, the author of Junius would "be known," I am confident he never used those words, or any words like them. You mention to me your having heard that Junius's Letters were printed off before they were delivered to the printer. This was not the fact; if it had been true, it would have put Mr. Wilkes's authorship wholly out of the question, as he had no convenience whatever for printing. I once procured a copy to be made for him of some very private papers, and he then greatly lamented to me his want of a private press.

"Our conversations on Junius's Letters began

from a whimsical circumstance. Business having carried me to Ireland in 1776, I wrote to Mr. Wilkes from Holyhead; on my return he informed me that my letter had been stopped at the post-office, from the similarity of the hand-writing to that of Junius. This made me wish to see the original of Junius's Letters, and he produced them to me. We more than once examined them together, with great attention. All of them, except the letter to the king, are, if I remember rightly, in the same hand-writing. It is like that which well-educated ladies wrote about the beginning of the century; a large open hand, regular, approaching to the Italian. Mr. Wilkes had a card of invitation to dinner from old lady Temple, written in her own hand; on comparing it with Junius's Letters, we thought there was some resemblance between them. The letter to the King was in a hand-writing perfectly different; a very regular, staid hand; no difference between the fair stroke and the body of the letters; when I see you I will show you some writing very similar to it. As to my own hand-writing, it has not now the slightest resemblance to it, nor do I think it ever had any*.

* Mr. Wilkes said, that the manner in which Junius corrected the printed sheets, showed that he was accustomed to such an employment, and had a familiar use of the marks of printers in correcting proof sheets.

"The letters, generally, if not always, were sent in an envelope, (which was then by no means so general as it now is), and in the folding up, and the direction of the letter, we thought we could see marks of the writer's habit of folding and directing official letters. The lines were very even; very few blots, erasures, or marks of hurry. Mr. Wilkes received many letters from Junius, which never were published; one, in particular, on the subject of improving the representation of the people. Their opinions were different. I remember Junius's letter began by his saying, 'he was treated as a pagan idol, with much incense, but with no attention to his oracles.'

"We thought his high-wrought panegyric of lord Chatham was ironical.

"Mr. Wilkes scouted the notion of Mr. Burke's being the author of the letters. His suspicions fell on Dr. Butler, bishop of Hereford, but I don't recollect more than two reasons assigned by him for suspecting his lordship; one, that he had published a sermon, before Junius's Letters appeared, the style of which was very like that of the letters; another, after the letters appeared, in a style wholly unlike. These sermons, I think, I have seen, and that they did not appear to me to warrant Mr. Wilkes's observations. The other reason was, that the references in the letters to the Bible were not to the received translation,

but to the Vulgate*, which, he said, the bishop always used, and which, (by the way), Mr. Wilkes greatly admired. He described the bishop to be a saturnine, observing, profound, and silent man, such a one as, *à priori*, we should suppose Junius. But it was a mere suspicion, and we frequently amused ourselves with endeavouring to find a more likely person.

"Arguing synthetically, we determined that Junius must be a resident in London, or its environs, from the immediate answers which he generally gave his adversaries; that he was not an author by profession †, from the visible improvement which, from time to time, was discernible in his style; that he was a man of high rank, from the tone of equality which he seemed

* This remark was certainly made by Mr. Wilkes; but are there any such references?

† The Reminiscent now questions the justness of this remark. Is it likely that *the style of Junius* should have been acquired without much previous exercitation?

Bolingbroke and Swift, it may be said, poured unpremeditated lines; but, with all its beauty, the style of the former is very loose; he pleases rather by his vivid, elegant and noble conceptions, than by the language with which he clothes them.—Swift excels by his astonishing command of words, always common and always proper, not by their collocation or dress.

The style of Junius is the reverse: every line in his letters shows the experienced artificer.—Still, is it not probable that we shall see another Junius before we see another Swift?

to use quite naturally in his addresses to persons of rank, and in his expressions respecting them that he was not a profound lawyer, from the gross inaccuracy of some of his legal expressions*; that he had a personal animosity against the king, the duke of Bedford, and lord Mansfield, from the bitterness of his expressions respecting them; that he had lived with military men, from the propriety of his language on military subjects; and that he was a great reader of novels, from his frequent allusions to them. The general idea, that the letters were the composition of more than one person, we always rejected. The story that single-speech Hamilton informed one of his friends, that the Junius of the morning contained such and such passages, and that, till the subsequent day, no such Junius made his appearance, we thought sufficiently authenticated; and we also thought it satisfactorily accounted for, by the supposition that Woodfall had shown the letter to Mr. Hamilton on the preceding day, and mentioned his intention of inserting it, but had been unexpectedly prevented. We also believed in the story, that while

* In his dedication, he says, "The power of king, lords "and commons is not an arbitrary power. They are the "trustees, not the owners of the estate. The fee-simple is in "US."—Now in all trusts of the inheritance the fee-simple is in the trustees.

Garrick was writing a note to Mr. Ramus, or some other of the pages, Woodfall, or some one from him, came in and informed him, that Junius intended writing no more; that Garrick mentioned this circumstance in the note; and that, almost instantly after the note was sent, a thundering letter came from Junius to Garrick, abusing him for making free with his name. It was also mentioned to us from very good authority, that lord North had declared that government had traced the porterage of the letters to an obscure person in Staple-inn, but could never trace them farther*.

"This is all I can collect of the conversations which passed between Mr. Wilkes and myself on the subject in question. I have endeavoured to be accurate in my recollection of them; but you will remember it verges towards twenty years since they took place. I apprehend the original letters are in the custody of Miss Wilkes.

"Edmund Burke spoke to me about Junius in terms of disgust; Mr. Gibbon appeared to me not to admire his style, as much as it was admired

* This expression has been confirmed to the writer within these few weeks, by a person present when it was spoken, with the additional circumstance that the gentleman, in Staple-inn, to whom it referred, was afterwards said to be the celebrated Isaac Reed, famed for his literary acquaintance among all ranks of persons.

by the public in general; and he told me that Mr. Fox thought slightingly of it.

"Some letters, under the signature of Julian, were attributed to Junius; but, to my certain knowledge, they were written by one Pillon, the author of some dramatic pieces of no great merit. Some respectable persons say that Mr. Forth, who attended lord Stormont's embassy, knows something of the author.

"The last anecdote on the subject I have heard is, that an old man, seemingly poverty-stricken, came in the Bath coach to the Devizes, or one of the next stages, and fell sick at the inn; that a very decent gentleman came to him from London; that the old man died; that he was buried in the church-yard; that over his tomb his friend caused a stone to be raised with Junius's motto; "Stat nominis umbra;" and that Mr. Fox travelling that road, stopped at the inn, and desired to be directed to the stone. This story is confidentially circulated, but I certainly do not vouch for the truth of it.

"As for Macauley Boyd's being the author of Junius's Letters, it is a perfect joke; no two characters can be more perfectly unlike than Boyd's and Junius's. Boyd was a good-natured, lively man, famous for repeating lord Chatham's and Burke's speeches, and always bustling about something or another. I remember, very well,

the infinite pains he took to persuade the world that the Perreaus were innocent. He must have been very young when Junius's Letters were written. All who knew him must think the notion of his being the author of Junius's Letters too absurd for discussion.

"It has appeared strange, that government could not discover Junius, through the medium of the post-office. Upon this, I must observe, that I know a lady, who, for a long period of time, received by the post anonymous letters, some of them written in blood, accusing her of the most atrocious crimes. She was nearly related to a nobleman, very high in office; by his desire, all the powers of government were exerted to discover the writer of the letters, but without success*.

"You are aware, that the person now suspected of being the author of Junius's Letters is a Mr. Dyer, an intimate of the Burkes. It is said, that, on Mr. Dyer's decease, the Burkes showed infinite anxiety to get his papers into their hands; all this may be very true, but I have never heard it from good authority.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Most sincerely yours,

"July, 1799." * * * * *

* It has since been ascertained that all Junius's letters were sent to Woodfall by a private hand.

In the letter, which we have transcribed, notice is taken of the tone of equality, in which Junius addresses and speaks of the very highest personages of his times: how difficult it is for a person of an inferior rank to do this, appears from Swift's letters, and the anecdotes of him, which have been transmitted to us, in which his consciousness of inferiority, notwithstanding his assumption of equality, pierces through every disguise.

To all his illustrious contemporaries, Cicero ever writes *en pair:* d'Alembert too, in the midst of all his flattery,—(through which, however, his ironical smile is often seen),—keeps the king of Prussia at a respectful distance from him. How much the learned man and the elegant scholar lowers himself by frequenting the tables or the conversazioni of the great, may be seen in a work of this writer, which should lie on the desk of every scholar*.

* His "Essay on the Intercourse of Men of Letters with "Persons high in rank or office." It is said that when d'Alembert was at Berlin, being wearied with the frequent reviews, to which Frederic led him, he said in a moment of pettishness,—"After all, 100 Englishmen will always "be a match for 100 Prussians."—"True," replied the monarch, "but 100,000 Prussians will always beat 100,000 "English;"—(alluding to the advantages which superior tactic confers.)—"That's not so clear," an English officer might have observed,—"50,000 English would certainly "maintain their ground before twice that number of any "troops in the universe."

A further circumstance noticed by Mr. Wilkes and the Reminiscent respecting Junius was, his early intelligence of the measure of government. Those, who recollect the controversy between the count de Guignes, the French ambassador in this country, and Salvador the Portuguese Jew, relative to the stock-jobbing transactions, which took place during the disputes between Spain and this country respecting Falkland's Island, and the manner in which the British cabinet changed on a sudden, from warlike to peaceful thoughts, must be surprised at the early intelligence which Junius gave of this change to Woodfall. In the Reminiscent's opinion, Junius's letter on this subject is one of his best performances. It closes with a simile, which several have not scrupled to pronounce the finest in any language: "Private credit is wealth;—public "honour is security.—The feather that adorns "the royal bird, supports his flight. Strip him "of his plumage, and you fix him to the earth." It is difficult to mention another, where the image is, at the same time, so exquisitely beautiful and proper, and so happily illustrative and confirmatory of the argument*.

* The simile used by Mr. Burke to describe the rise of Mr. Charles Townshend on the decline of Mr. Pitt,—"Even "then, even before this splendid orb was entirely set, and

The letter also contains a striking passage on the state of France in 1771,—the year in which

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" while the western horizon was in a blaze with his descend-
" ing glory, on the opposite quarter of the heavens arose
" another luminary, and, for his hour, became lord of the as-
" cendant:"—has uncommon merit, but it yields to that of Junius.

One of the finest similes which we have received from antiquity is that, in which Homer compares Ulysses trying his bow to a minstrel fitting the strings of his harp,

" Then, as some heavenly minstrel, taught to sing
" High notes responsive to the trembling string,
" To some new strain, when he adapts the lyre,
" Or the dumb lute refits with vocal wire,
" Relaxes, strains, and draws them to and fro;
" So the great master drew the mighty bow,
" And drew with ease."

Pope's Odyssey, XXI. v. 440.

Another simile descended to us from antiquity, and particularly celebrated, is that in which Androgeos, falling unawares in the way of the Trojan hero, is compared to a peasant who has set his foot on a snake,—

" As when some peasant, in a bushy brake,
" Has with unwary footing, pressed a snake,
" He starts aside astonished!—when he spies
" His rising crest, blue neck, and rolling eyes,
" So from our arms surprized Androgeos flies."

Dryden's Æneid, II. v. 510.

That the two last similes possess an uncommon degree of merit must be acknowledged; yet it may be questioned, whe-

it was written.—"The king of France's present "aversion from war, and the distraction of his "affairs are notorious. He is now in a state of "war with his people. In vain did the catholic "king solicit him to take part in the quarrel "against us. His finances were in the last dis-

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ther either can be compared to one of a poet, who seldom rose above mediocrity, but who on this occasion certainly struck the noblest chords of the lyre. He applies it to athiests, who, while they enjoy the blessings, deny the existence of the divinity.

"Le Nil a vu sur ses rivages
"De noirs habitans des deserts
"Insulter par leurs cris sauvages
"L'astre éclatant de l'univers:
"Cris impuissans, fureurs bizarres!
"Tandis que ces monstres barbares
"Poussaient d'insolens clameurs,
"Le Dieu, poursuivant sa carriere,
"Versait des torrens de lumière
"Sur ces obscurs blasphémateurs."

Le Franc Pompignan.

An hypercritic would, perhaps, ask whether it would not have been better to have left the exclamation "*Cris impuis-* "*sans, fureurs bizarres!*" to the suggestion of the reader's own mind,—and whether the epithet "*obscurs*" in the last line, as it is applied to persons upon whom the sun was pouring a torrent of light, be altogether happy? Is it not, what the English seldom utter, but what hardly occurs in any language but their's,—the βους ἰσι γλῶττης?

"order, *and it was probable that his troops might* "*find sufficient employment at home.*"

Since this time, the authorship of these letters has excited much of the attention of the public. The only conjectures which deserve any consideration, are those which ascribe them to Mr. Glover, the author of Leonidas, to Mr. Burke, or to sir Philip Francis. To support the pretensions of the former, no evidence is adduced, except that something of the high whig principles of Junius is discoverable in the volume which has been published of Glover's Memoirs; and that Glover is known to have lived in an elevated line of society, in which the same principles were professed. This evidence amounts to little, and the style of his memoirs is very unlike that of Junius.

Many contend in favour of Mr. Burke:—this, among his countrymen, is a general opinion, but it is accompanied by no evidence. One argument only is adduced in support of it. Mr. Burke was equal to the composition of the letters of Junius, and he was the only person, living at the time when they appeared, whose literary eminence was so transcendent that he could afford to spare the reputation of them.

Attended by other circumstances, this might have weight; but standing singly, it has none.

Between the styles of Junius and Burke, there is a great dissimilitude: it is answered, that Mr. Burke could disguise his style. But could he disguise his mind? Could he write so many letters in a mind lower than his own? Mr. Burke generalizes every thing; Junius dwells for ever on particulars: Junius frequently leaves half his meaning to be guessed; Burke displays all. Can any reason be assigned for attributing to Mr. Burke the *personal* hatred which Junius evidently had for his late majesty? for the duke of Bedford? or for lord Mansfield? Those, who knew the very lofty notions which Mr. Burke entertained of himself, and his own ministerial powers and qualifications, must know, that he never would have written the line, "I accept a "simile from Burke, a sarcasm from Barré." Those too, who know the labour which any literary exertion cost Mr. Burke, his endless blots, emendations and transcriptions, and ultimately his private impressions, still blotted and still amended, must be sensible how irreconcileable all this is with the fecundity and rapidity of Junius. Add to this, that, on several most important points, Burke and Junius were in direct opposition to each other: Burke was a partizan of lord Rockingham; Junius of George Grenville. On the stamp act, on triennial parliaments, they were completely at variance:

Junius attached much importance to city politics; in these, Burke never appeared.

Let us hear how Mr. Burke himself speaks of Junius.

" Where,"—exclaims Mr. Burke,—" shall " we look for the origin of this relaxation of " the laws and all government? How comes " this Junius to have broke through the cob- " webs of the law, and to range uncontrolled, " unpunished, through the land? The myrmi- " dons of the court have been long, and are still, " pursuing him in vain. They will not spend " their time upon me, or you, or you. No; they " disdain such vermin, when the mighty boar " of the forest, that has broke through all their " toils, is before them. But what will all their " efforts avail? No sooner has he wounded one " than he lays down another dead at his feet. " For my part, when I saw his attack upon the " king, I own my blood ran cold. I thought he " had ventured too far, and there was an end of " his triumphs, not that he had not asserted " many truths. Yes, sir, there are in that com- " position many bold truths, by which a wise " prince might profit. It was the rancor and " venom, with which I was struck. In these " respects, the North Briton is as much inferior " to him, as in strength, wit and judgment. " But while I expected in this daring flight his

"final ruin and fall, behold him rising still "higher, and coming down souse upon both "houses of parliament. Yes, he did make you "his quarry, and you still bleed from the "wounds of his talons. You crouched, and "still crouch, beneath his rage. Nor has he "dreaded the terrors of your brow, sir; he has "attacked even you—he has—and I believe "you have no reason to triumph in the encoun-"ter. In short, after carrying away our royal "eagle in his pounces, and dashing him against "a rock, he has laid you prostrate. King, lords "and commons, are but the sport of his fury. "Were he a member of this house, what might "not be expected from his knowledge, his firm-"ness and integrity? He would be easily known "by his contempt of all danger, by his pene-"tration, by his vigour. Nothing would escape "his vigilance and activity. Bad ministers "could conceal nothing from his sagacity; nor "could promises nor threats induce him to con-"ceal anything from the public."

Would Mr. Burke have spoken in this manner of himself?

Finally,—it should not be forgotten, that, as the question now stands, the task is not to prove that Burke was not, but that he was the author of the letters.

It remains to consider the claim of sir Philip Francis. This has been ably brought forward in

two pamphlets, intituled "A Discovery of the Au-" "thor of the Letters of Junius, founded on such " evidence and illustrations as explain all the " mysterious circumstances and apparent contra-" dictions which have contributed to the conceal-" ment of this 'most important secret of our " times.'" And "The Identity of Junius, with " a distinguished living Character established; " including the Supplement, consisting of fac-" similes of hand-writing, and other illustra-" tions*."

The external evidence, produced in these pamphlets in favour of sir Philip Francis, is very strong:—so strong, perhaps, that, if he had been tried upon it for a libel, and the case had rested upon the facts, from which this evidence is formed, the judge would have directed the jury to find him guilty. But the internal evidence against him, from the inequality of his acknowledged writings, is also very strong. If the able author of the article "*Junius*" in the Edinburgh Review†, had not professed a different opinion, the present writer would have pronounced it decisive.

This respectable writer produces several passages from the works, of which sir Philip was certainly the author, and finds in them a similar

* Printed for Taylor and Hessey, in Fleet-street,

† For November 1817.

tone and equal merit. With due deference to his authority, the Reminiscent begs leave to think, that if these passages show that sir Philip was no mean writer, they also prove that he was not Junius. To bring the question to a direct issue,—are the glow and loftiness discernible in every page of Junius, once visible in any of these extracts? Where do we find in the writings of sir Philip, those thoughts that breathe, those words that burn, which Junius scatters in every page? a single drop of the *cobra capella*, which falls from Junius so often?

The advocates of the claim in favour of sir Philip urge, as a strong circumstance in its support, that, without family, without patronage, without any one pretension to the notice of the king or the minister, he was suddenly raised, from an obscure seat in the war-office, to a situation of dignity and emolument, which a nobleman would be happy to procure for his son. This, they say, shows that something was attached to sir Philip Francis, which rendered the purchase of him, at this time, even at a very high price, an object to government. Now, at this critical moment, in which sir Philip Francis was thus promoted, Junius ceased to write:—this, they conclude, makes it highly probable that the silence of Junius was purchased by the promotion of sir Philip.

But this is open to several observations.—In all his correspondence with Woodfall, Junius describes himself,—and very unaffectedly,—as a man of fortune, mixing at large with the world; and promises to indemnify him against any pecuniary loss which he might sustain in consequence of any prosecution for the letters, leaving him, however, to abide by its other consequences. Nothing of this is reconcileable with the situation of sir Philip Francis at the time when these letters appeared:—It should be added that sir Philip was then very young.

We have intimated our opinion that sir Philip was no mean writer. But Junius had evidently been a great constitutional reader. Does sir Philip appear to have been such, from any of his writings? even from the latest of them?

But, to bring the matter at once to issue, we shall transcribe from the article on Junius, in the Edinburgh Review, a passage from a publication in which sir Philip attacks lord Thurlow,—then, insert a passage in which Junius attacks lord Mansfield. We request our readers will compare them, and afterwards compare the extract from Junius, with the passage on Hyder Ally's invasion of the Carnatic, transcribed from one of Mr. Burke's speeches, in a future part of this publication. Will he not find the inferiority of sir Philip so great, as to render it impossible

that he should have been the author of Junius's Letters? On the other hand, will he not find the difference, we do not say in the styles, but in the minds of Junius and Burke to be such, as makes it evident that Burke and Junius were not the same person?

Sir Philip Francis's Character of Lord Thurlow.

"It is well known that a gross and public insult had been "offered to the memory of general Clavering and colonel "Monson, by a person of high rank in this country. He "was happy when he heard that his name was included in "it with their's. So highly did he respect the character of "those men, that he deemed it an honour to share in the in- "justice it had suffered. It was in compliance with the forms "of the house, and not to shelter himself, or out of tenderness "to the party, that he forebore to name him. He meant to "describe him so exactly, that he could not be mistaken. "He declared in his place, in a great assembly, and in the "course of a grave deliberation, 'that it would have been "happy for this country if general Clavering, colonel Mon- "son and Mr. Francis, had been drowned in their passage "to India.' If this poor and spiteful invective had been "uttered by a man of no consequence or repute, by any light, "trifling, inconsiderate person, by a lord of the bed-chamber, "for example, or any of the other silken barons of modern "days, he should have heard it with indifference. But when "it was seriously urged and deliberately insisted on by a "grave lord of parliament—by a judge—by a man of ability "and eminence in his profession, whose personal disposi- "tion was serious, who carried gravity to sternness, and "sternness to ferocity, it could not be received with indiffer-

" ence, or answered without resentment. Such a man would " be thought to have inquired before he pronounced. From " his mouth, a reproach was a sentence, an invective was a " judgment. The accidents of life, and not any original dis- " tinction that he knew of, had placed him too high, and " himself at too great a distance from him, to admit of any " other answer than a public defiance, for general Clavering, " for colonel Monson, and for himself. This was not a party " question, nor should it be left to so feeble an advocate as he " was, to support it. The friends and fellow-soldiers of ge- " neral Clavering and colonel Monson would assist him in " defending their memory. He demanded and expected the " support of every man of honour in that house, and in the " kingdom. What character was safe, if slander was per- " mitted to attack the reputation of two of the most honour- " able and virtuous men that ever were employed, or ever " perished in the service of their country? He knew that the " authority of this man was not without weight; but he had " an infinitely higher authority to oppose to it. He had the " happiness of hearing the merits of general Clavering and " colonel Monson acknowledged and applauded in terms to " which he was not at liberty to do more than to allude: they " were rapid and expressive. He must not venture to re- " peat, lest he should do them injustice, or violate the forms " of respect, where essentially he owed and felt the most. " But he was sufficiently understood. The generous sensa- " tions that animate the royal mind, were easily distinguished " from those which rankled in the heart of that person who " was supposed to be the keeper of the royal conscience."

Extract from the Letter of Junius to Lord Mansfield.

" You will not question my veracity, when I assure you " that it has not been owing to any particular respect for your " person that I have abstained from you so long. Besides

" the distress and danger with which the press is threatened;
" when your lordship is party, and the party is to be judge;
" I confess I have been deterred by the difficulty of the task.
" Our language has no term of reproach, the mind has no
" idea of detestation, which has not already been happily ap-
" plied to you and exhausted. Ample justice has been done
" by abler pens than mine to the separate merits of your life
" and character. Let it be my humble office to collect the
" scattered sweets, till their united virtue tortures the sense."

" Permit me to begin with paying a just tribute to Scotch
" sincerity, wherever I find it. I own I am not apt to con-
" fide in the professions of gentlemen of that country, and
" when they smile, I feel an involuntary emotion to guard my-
" self against mischief. With this general opinion of an an-
" cient nation, I always thought it much to your lordship's
" honour, that, in your earlier days, you were but little in-
" fected with the prudence of your country. You had some
" original attachments, which you took every proper oppor-
" tunity to acknowledge. The liberal spirit of youth pre-
" vailed over your native discretion. Your zeal in the cause
" of an unhappy prince was expressed with the sincerity of
" wine, and some of the solemnities of religion. This I con-
" ceive is the most amiable point of view in which your cha-
" racter has appeared. Like an honest man, you took that
" part in politics, which might have been expected from your
" birth, education, country and connexions. There was
" something generous in your attachment to the banished
" house of Stuart. We lament the mistakes of a good man,
" and do not begin to detest him until he affects to renounce
" his principles. Why did you not adhere to that loyalty
" you once professed? Why did you not follow the example
" of your worthy brother? With him you might have shared
" in the honour of the Pretender's confidence—with him you
" might have preserved the integrity of your character, and
" England, I think, might have spared you without regret.

" Your friends will say, perhaps, that although you deserted
" the fortune of your liege lord, you have adhered firmly to
" the principles which drove his father from the throne;—
" that without openly supporting the person, you have done
" essential service to the cause, and consoled yourself for the
" loss of a favorite family, by reviving and establishing the
" maxims of their government. This is the way in which a
" Scotchman's understanding corrects the errors of his heart.
" My lord, I acknowledge the truth of the defence, and can
" trace it through all your conduct. I see through your whole
" life, one uniform plan to enlarge the power of the crown, at
" the expense of the liberty of the subject. To this object,
" your thoughts, words and actions, have been constantly di-
" rected. In contempt or ignorance of the common law of
" England, you have made it your study to introduce into
" the court, where you preside, maxims of jurisprudence un-
" known to Englishmen. The Roman code, the law of na-
" tions, and the opinion of foreign civilians, are your perpe-
" tual theme;—but who ever heard you mention magna
" charta, or the bill of rights, with approbation or respect?
" By such treacherous arts, the noble simplicity and the spirit
" of our laws were first corrupted. The Norman conquest
" was not complete until Norman lawyers had introduced
" their laws, and reduced slavery to a system. This one
" leading principle directs your interpretation of the laws,
" and accounts for your treatment of juries. It is not in po-
" litical questions only, (for there the courtier might be for-
" given), but let the cause be what it may, your understand-
" ing is equally on the rack, either to contract the power of
" the jury, or to mislead their judgment. For the truth of
" this assertion, I appeal to the doctrine you delivered in lord
" Grosvenor's cause. An action for criminal conversation
" being brought by a peer against a prince of the blood, you
" were daring enough to tell the jury that, in fixing the da-
" mages, they were to pay no regard to the quality or fortune

20256

" of the parties ;—that it was a trial between A and B;—that " they were to consider the offence in a moral light only, and " give no greater damages to a peer of the realm than to the " meanest mechanic. I shall not attempt to refute a doc- " trine, which, if it was meant for law, carries falsehood and " absurdity upon the face of it; but if it was meant for a de- " claration of your political creed, is clear and consistent. " Under an arbitrary government, all ranks and distinctions " are confounded. The honour of a nobleman is no more " considered than the reputation of a peasant, for with dif- " ferent liveries they are equally slaves.

" Even in matters of private property, we see the same " bias and inclination to depart from the decisions of your " predecessors, which you certainly ought to receive as evi- " dence of the common law. Instead of those certain, positive " rules, by which the judgment of a court of law should be " invariably determined, you have fondly introduced your " own unsettled notions of equity and substantial justice. " Decisions given upon such principles do not alarm the " public so much as they ought, because the consequence and " tendency of each particular instance, is not observed or re- " garded. In the mean time the practice gains ground; the " court of king's bench becomes a court of equity, and the " judge, instead of consulting strictly the law of the land, re- " fers only to the wisdom of the court, and to the purity of " its own conscience. The name of Mr. Justice Yates will " naturally revive in your mind some of those emotions of " fear and detestation, with which you always beheld him. " That great lawyer, that honest man, saw your whole con- " duct in the light that I do. After years of ineffectual re- " sistance to the pernicious principles introduced by your " lordship, and uniformly supported by your humble friends " upon the bench, he determined to quit a court whose pro- " ceedings and decisions he could neither assent to with " honour or oppose with success."

Such, in our opinion, is the state of the question: all external evidence is for sir Philip, all internal evidence is against him. Thus the argument on each side neutralizes the argument on the other, and the pretension of sir Philip vanishes.'

A third hypothesis is therefore necessary. The conclusion, to which it should lead, should be such as is consistent with the evidence on each side, and restores to each its individual activity.

Now this is done,—and perhaps it can only be done,—by supposing that sir Philip was not Junius, but the amanuensis of Junius; that the real Junius was too high to be bought; so that, when he made his terms with government, he was contented to remain in a proud obscurity,—but stipulated a boon for his scribe, and was of consequence enough to insist that the boon should be liberal *. We do not, however,

* Some passages in Junius's Letters seem to show that he employed an amanuensis. In a note to Woodfall †, he says, "The enclosed, though begun within these few days, has "been greatly laboured. It is very correctly copied." In another letter, he mentions, "the gentleman who transacts "the conveyancing part of their correspondence," and who told him "there was much difficulty last night ‡." That

† Letters of Junius; by H. S. Woodfall, in 3 vols. 1812, vol. i. n. 24, p. 214.

‡ Ibid. n. 51, p. 246.

say that the scribe was a mere copyist:—he may have occasionally conveyed useful information, and suggested useful hints to his principal; so that, to a certain extent, he might, without impropriety, be said to have been his collaborator.

To this hypothesis the Reminiscent begs leave to say that he inclines: it includes all the data required by him for the author of Junius; it equally admits the arguments in favour of sir Philip Francis from external, and the arguments against him from internal evidence, and reconciles and gives activity to each.

Almost the only fact, which we know with certainty of Junius, is thus expressed in one of his private letters to Woodfall *: "That Swinney is a wretched, dangerous fool: he had "the impudence to go to lord Sackville, whom "he had never before spoken to, and to ask

* Letters of Junius; by H. S. Woodfall, in 3 vols. 1812, vol. i. p. 174.

gentleman, therefore, must have known, that a mysterious something attended those letters. Mr. Jackson's testimony, as reported by Woodfall, is, that "this gentleman wore a bag and sword †." If the recollection of the writer, that Junius's letter to the king is in a hand-writing different from the hand-writing of the other letters, be accurate, the evidence for an amanuensis is certainly very strong.

† Letters of Junius; by H. S. Woodfall, in 3 vols, 1812, vol. i. n. 2, p. 43.

"him whether or no he was the author of Ju-
"nius."

These few words disclose several facts;—that Junius knew Swinney and his character,—that Junius knew Swinney had called on lord George Sackville,—that he knew that Swinney had never called on him before,—and that Junius was acquainted with the interview very soon after it took place. From this it may be argued that Junius was intimate with lord George Sackville; it has even been inferred that he was lord George Sackville himself.

The Reminiscent well remembers that his lordship was the person to whom the letters were first attributed, and that his lordship had the reputation of possessing literary talents and habits. It is known that sir William Draper at first divided his suspicions of the authorship of Junius between Burke and lord George; and that on Burke's unequivocal denial of it, he transferred them to lord George.

There certainly was an event in his lordship's life, which would sour him against mankind, and fill his soul with bitter hatred against the late king, against lord Mansfield, his majesty's secret and confidential adviser in all state prosecutions, and against the duke of Grafton, the brother of lord Southampton, a strong witness against lord George, in the court-martial which

was held upon him. Something or other might easily have occurred, which would have extended this hatred to the duke of Bedford.

The event to which we have referred would render concealment necessary; and after lord George had taken an office in lord North's administration, and accepted a peerage from the king, it must, if he had any feelings of honour, have made him desire that his authorship of the Letters of Junius, if he were the author of them, should be buried in eternal oblivion.

Junius, in many parts of his letters, seems to intimate his having a personal knowledge of the king: "I know that man better than you," he says of the king, in one of his letters to Mr. Horne. To this personal knowledge of the king, the high birth of lord George, and the habits of his family about the court, entitled him; but this personal knowledge of the king cannot be claimed for any other person, to whom the Letters of Junius have been ascribed. The rank and character of lord George Sackville account also for his knowledge of some very obscure transactions of government, and some private events in the duke of Bedford's family. It may be added, that Junius ceased to write in May 1772;—that, soon afterwards, lord George re-appeared in the public world in the debates on East India affairs, and that in 1775 he was

appointed one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state. Allowing for the time which it must necessarily take to bring into public office a man so apparently undone in public opinion, it is not contrary to probability, that the *pour-parlers* for his restoration to favour, began about the time at which Junius ceased to write.

To all arguments which may be suggested in favour of lord George, the author of the ingenious essay, prefixed to Woodfall's edition of the Letters of Junius, objects an expression in a political squib attributed to Junius, in which he alludes to the supposed tergiversation of lord George at the battle of Minden. This may be thought a strong, but it is not a decisive argument, particularly if we suppose, what certainly is not impossible, that lord George had, upon this subject, all the pride of conscious innocence. It must also be observed, that it is by conjecture only that the *jeu d'esprit*, in which this expression is found, is imputed to Junius.

To the Reminiscent it appears more difficult to reconcile lord George's authorship of Junius with that writer's advances to Mr. Wilkes, and his intromission of himself into city politics, or with the importance which he appears to have attached to them. The high aristocracy of the whigs was, at that time, just beginning to thaw;

but the Reminiscent recollects that lord George was considered to be eminently aristocratic: it is difficult to think he would have run, as Junius did, into the city, or considered it to be of the importance which Junius thought it, that one man or another should be the lord mayor.

Junius expresses himself differently at different times of lord Chatham. To a friend of the Reminiscent lord George observed, that "the "unpleasant part of his own life was mixed up "with the most glorious part of lord Chatham's, "but did not prevent him from doing justice to "the services, which that great man had done "his country." It is also observable, that there is nothing in the speech which lord George Sackville made in his defence before the court-martial by whom he was tried, that has the slightest appearance of the style of Junius; the same observation on the difference between the defence, and his lordship's general style of oratory, was made during the debates which followed his lordship's coming into office, by the Reminiscent and by several with whom he then associated.

Supposing the evidence in favour of lord George Sackville to rest entirely on the circumstances which have been mentioned, it must be pronounced to be defective. On this supposition, however, it might have been observed that

the evidence in his favour was stronger than the evidence in favour of any other person. Mr. Fox used to say, that "though he would not "take single-speech Hamilton against the field, "he would bet him against any single horse." On the supposition which we have just stated, might not the same bet, with a greater chance of success, have been laid upon lord George?

There is, however, one circumstance against lord George, which it is difficult to reconcile with his being Junius:—Having written as Junius had done of him, would lord North have recommended him as minister to the king? Could the king have accepted Junius for his minister?

The reader will find in a note*, an extract

* The Scots Magazine, printed at Edinburgh, for November 1799, No. xi. p. 734, contains the following letter on the subject of the present inquiry:

"*Remarks towards a Discovery of the Author of Junius's "Letters.*

"In our last we gave the correspondence which has been "published in London, regarding the author of Junius's "Letters. Some interesting and striking circumstances "have lately appeared in some Edinburgh publications, "which regard this interesting topic, and which we think "worthy of notice. These point out a gentleman, who, "though high in literary fame, never has heretofore been re- "puted, so far as we recollect, the writer of these celebrated "letters. With what degree of probability, our readers will "judge from the following circumstances:—In the year

from a northern magazine, which contains a wonderful tale respecting Junius: and, to use

" 1768, (says this writer), Dr. Stuart went to London, ex-
" pecting the patronage of lord Mansfield, on account of his
" Essay on the British Constitution. His hopes, however,
" were defeated. Disappointment, probably, as well as re-
" venge, caused him to embrace the interest of the opposition.
" He procured an introduction to an English gentleman
" strongly connected by ties of blood to lord Camden. This
" man is yet living, now in Parliament, and the bosom friend
" of Mr. Pitt; his name I shall call Lucius. Lucius soon
" discovered the merits of young Stuart. The scheme of
" Junius's Letters was immediately planned by Lucius, and
" a Mr. Fitzgerald, an accomplished Irishman, since dead.
" They were to give the information, and Stuart was to be
" the author; but a confidential amanuensis was still want-
" ing. Mr. Fitzgerald at last found one in his countryman
" Hugh Boyd.

" A room was taken in a coffee-house in the Strand, where
" Lucius, Fitzgerald and Stuart nightly met. Stuart wrote
" the letters in his own lodgings; Fitzgerald sent them to
" Hugh Boyd to be transcribed; the latter returned them to
" Fitzgerald, who sent them back to Stuart, and he con-
" veyed them by street porters to Woodfall's.

" An intimate acquaintance of Fitzgerald, from whom I
" had this story, and in whose veracity I may perfectly con-
" fide, happened to frequent the same coffee-house. The
" mistress of the house one day took my friend aside, and
" cautiously advised him to break off all acquaintance with
" Fitzgerald; 'for,' added she, 'I strongly suspect he fre-
" quents the high road. About six weeks ago he took a room
" from me, for the purpose, he said, of spending the evening
" agreeably with a few friends. But he never comes till
" twelve at night, and he brings with him two persons whose

the words of a song once popular, " those, who " will believe it, may."

" appearance I sadly dislike. I listen often at the door; their " conversation in general is about noblemen: but one night " I heard them say they robbed a *linen-draper*. I mean to " tell them to-morrow to leave the house.' My friend's cu- " riosity was naturally excited: He bored a small hole in an " unobservable part of the door, and told the landlady he " would come early the next morning between one and two; " which he accordingly did; and saw his intimate acquaint- " ance Fitzgerald, Lucius, (whom he knew by sight), and an- " other person sitting between them; but what was his as- " tonishment when he found their conversation respected the " writing of Junius's Letters.

" He called upon Fitzgerald the next morning, and found " him in bed, who apologized, by saying he had been late in " the city with some acquaintances. Yes, said my friend, " sir William Draper always entertains his company well at " night; he is a jolly fellow, ' there are a number of racks " and vipers that dance through his conversation in all the " mazes of metaphorical confusion.' Fitzgerald immediately " knowing he was discovered, after being informed how his " acquaintance came to the knowledge of the secret, took his " promise never to reveal it until after his (Fitzgerald's) " death.

" To the public this may appear a romantic story, but they " may depend on the authenticity of it, which is supported " by many other facts.

" It is well known that one of the parcels of Junius was " marked with the seal of Edmund Burke; and upon Burke " being challenged as to the fact, he declared that it was " either a forgery, or that his friend Fitzgerald was the au- " thor of Junius; for he recollected breakfasting with Fitz- " gerald the morning the parcel was delivered, and that

Speaking in one of his letters to Woodfall of the edition which that gentleman projected of

" Fitzgerald asked his seal to put upon a letter, by apologiz-
" ing he could not find his own.

" It is also well known that the Letters of Junius were
" traced first to Lincoln's-inn-fields, and next to Chancery-
" lane, in which two places Gilbert Stuart at different times
" resided. " AN OLD MAGISTRATE."

It is needless to observe that this letter is entitled to little attention,—as it is an anonymous communication, and unsupported either by external or internal evidence; it is also open to the objection, that it makes four persons possessed of the secret; now that four persons, such as the letter describes, should keep such a secret inviolate, in spite of all the temptations to betray it, which vanity and interest would present, is highly improbable. Stuart was in narrow, Boyd in embarrassed circumstances, and neither of them remarkable for circumspection.

The writer was acquainted with the family of Mr. Fitzgerald, who is mentioned in the transcription, and with several of his friends. He took a leading part in the riot at Drury-lane, which enforced, against the unwilling manager, the admission into the theatre, after the close of the third act, at half price. This exposed him to ridicule, but he was allowed to be a man of learning and elegant pursuits. He resided at Hampstead; one of his most intimate friends was a Mr. Madan, a gentleman who resided in the same place;—he was a profound classical scholar, and is yet remembered by many with respect. This gentleman, in 1776, mentioned to the Reminiscent, that he always suspected his friend Fitzgerald was the author of Junius's Letters, and thought him more than equal to the composition of them. But such circumstances are light as air, and even this mention of them may be thought to require an apology.

his letters, Junius says, "When the book is "finished, let me have *a set bound in vellum,* "*gilt and lettered as handsome as you can—the* "*edges gilt—let the sheets be well dried before* "*binding.*"

Who is the fortunate possessor of these two vellum volumes?—The Reminiscent knows as little as the rest of the world,—but he thinks it was not unknown to the founder of a noble house to whom the public owes an edition of Homer, which does the nation honour.

VIII.

COMPLETION OF MR. HARGRAVE'S EDITION OF COKE ON LITTLETON—CHARACTER OF LITTLETON AND COKE.

THE next literary exertion of the Reminiscent was of a professional nature,—*the continuation and completion of Mr. Hargrave's edition of Coke upon Littleton.*

The merit of *Littleton's Tenures* is great: neither England nor the continent can produce any contemporaneous work on the subject of law, of equal or even approximating merit. But a general want of definition and some want of order may be reasonably objected to it; and it is not wholly free from error.

The *commentary of sir Edward Coke* is an extraordinary work: the language of it is everywhere most clear: but the doctrines and illustrations are often so subtle and abstruse, as to require the utmost stretch, even of the strongest understanding, to comprehend them. A profound algebraist once mentioned to the writer, that he had never found in that science, a problem, the solution of which required so much exertion of the mind, as passages occurring in almost every page of this celebrated commentary.

Both lord Mansfield and lord Thurlow expressed the highest opinion of Littleton, but a very different opinion of Coke.

It is objected to his commentary, that it is defective in method: but it should be observed, that a want of method was, in some respects, inseparable from the nature of the undertaking. During a long life of intense and unremitted application to the study of the laws of England, sir Edward Coke had treasured up an immensity of the most valuable learning on the common and statute law of this country. This he wished to present to the public, and chose that mode of doing it, in which, without being obliged to dwell on those doctrines, which other authors could explain equally well, he might produce that profound and recondite learning, which he felt himself to possess above all others.

It must be allowed that the style of sir Edward Coke is strongly tinged with the quaintness of the times in which he wrote; but it is accurate, expressive and clear. That it is sometimes difficult to comprehend his meaning, is owing, generally speaking, to the abstruseness of his subject, not to the obscurity of his language.

It has been objected to him, that the authorities which he cites, do not, in many places, come up to the doctrines which they are brought to support. There appears to be some ground for

this observation: yet, it should not be forgotten, that the uncommon depth of his learning, and acuteness of his mind, might enable him to discover connections and consequences which escape a common observer.

It is sometimes said, that the perusal of his commentary is, at this time, useless, as many of the doctrines of law, which his writings explain, are become obsolete; and that every thing useful in them may be found more systematically and agreeably arranged in modern writers.—It must be acknowledged, that, when he treats of those parts of the law, which have been altered since his time, his commentary partakes, in a certain degree, of the obsoleteness of the subjects to which it is applied; but even where this is the case, it generally happens that the doctrines laid down by him serve to illustrate other parts of the law which are still in force. It may also be observed, that, notwithstanding the general tenor of the present business of our courts, cases must frequently occur which depend upon the most abstruse and intricate parts of the ancient law. Thus, the case of Jacob *v.* Wheate led to the discussion of escheats and uses, as they stood before the statute of Henry the eighth; and the case of Taylor *v.* Horde, and the still later case of Cholmondeley *v.* Clinton, turned on the learning of disseisins.

But the most advantageous, and perhaps the most proper point of view, in which the merit and ability of sir Edward Coke's writings can be placed, is by considering him as the centre of modern and ancient law.—The modern system of the law may be supposed to have taken its rise at the end of the reign of king Henry the seventh, and to have assumed something of a regular form about the latter end of the reign of king Charles the second. The principal features of this alteration are, the introduction of recoveries,—conveyances to uses,—the testamentary disposition by wills,—the abolition of military tenures,—the statute of frauds and perjuries,—the establishment of a regular system of equitable jurisdiction,—the discontinuance of real actions,—and the mode of trying titles to landed property by ejectment. There is no doubt that these have produced a material alteration in the jurisprudence of this country: but they have effected it, not so much by superseding, as by giving a new direction to the principles of the old law, and applying them to new subjects. Hence a knowledge of ancient legal learning is absolutely necessary to a modern lawyer. Now, sir Edward Coke's commentary upon Littleton is an immense repository of every thing that is most interesting or useful in the legal learning of ancient times. Were it not for his writings,

we should still have to search for it in the voluminous and chaotic compilation of cases contained in the year books; or in the dry, though valuable abridgments of Statham, Fitzherbert, Brooke, and Rolle. Every person, who has attempted, must be sensible how very difficult and disgusting it is to pursue a regular investigation of any point of law through these works: the writings of sir Edward Coke have considerably abridged, if not entirely taken away, the necessity of this arduous labour.

But his writings are not only a repository of ancient learning; they also contain the outlines of the principal doctrines of modern law and equity. On the one hand, he delineates and explains the ancient system of law, as it stood at the accession of the house of Tudor; on the other, he points out the leading circumstances of the innovations, which then began to take place. He shows the different restraints which our ancestors imposed on the alienation of landed property, the methods by which they were eluded, and the various modifications which property received after the free alienation of it was allowed. He shows how the notorious and public transfer of property by livery of seisin was superseded by the secret and refined mode of transferring it, which was introduced in consequence of the statute of uses. We may trace in his works the

beginning of the disuse of real actions; the tendency in the nation to convert the military into socage tenures; and the outlines of almost every other point of modern jurisprudence. Thus his writings stand between and connect the ancient and modern parts of the law, and, by showing their mutual relations and dependencies, discover the many ways by which they resolve into, explain and illustrate one another.

Of the foreign writers on law, whose works have fallen under the eye of the Reminiscent, those who have appeared to him to resemble lord Coke most, and to approach nearest to him in depth of learning and profound thought, are *Du Moulin* and *lord Stair*; the latter has the additional merit of arrangement. It is not generally known that the late sir William Pulteney was the editor of lord Stair's "Institutions." It should be known that the author of the essay on contingent remainders being understood to want money, sir William sent him 100*l*.; lord Thurlow, lord Loughborough, did each of them the same, and all did it in the handsomest manner: the munificence of lord Rosslyn to M. de Barrentin, the chancellor of France, during the French emigration, is mentioned in the writer's historical memoirs of the English, Irish and Scottish catholics.

It is very remarkable that some English gen-

tlemen, nowise connected with the profession of the law, beguiled their tedious exile at Verdun, with a serious perusal of Coke upon Littleton, and have often spoken of the great mental delight which it afforded them.

After employing eleven years in editing half of the work of which we are now speaking, Mr. Hargrave, its first editor, abandoned it. His annotations exhibit the most profound and extensive learning, and the finest discrimination. On Mr. Hargrave's resigning the work, it was committed to the editor, but with a request, amounting almost to a condition, that it should be completed within the four ensuing terms. To a perfect execution of it, an explanation or illustration of every sentence, where these were wanted,—(and sentences of this nature are very numerous),—would have been necessary. Such a system of minute annotation was incompatible with the shortness of the period allowed to the editor for the execution of his task;—nor had it been pursued by Mr. Hargrave. The second editor, therefore, adopted that gentleman's plan of extended annotation:—his labours have been most favourably received; but he has never disguised to himself, that this was chiefly owing to the value and importance of the work, to which his annotations are appended.—One further edition of it, more complete than the former, he yet hopes to give.

IX.

HORÆ JURIDICÆ SUBSECIVÆ.

THE Reminiscent now proceeds to mention his other professional publications:

The first was, "HORÆ JURIDICÆ SUBSECIVÆ, "being a connected Series of Notes respecting "the Geography, Chronology, and Literary His- "tory of the principal Codes and original Do- "cuments of the Grecian, Roman, Feudal and "Canon Law."

The first literary work which the writer sat down seriously to compose was a History of the Feudal Law:—a succinct outline of it, completed by him before the year 1772, is now in his possession: it was the ground-work of the long annotation on feuds, inserted by him in his continuation of Mr. Hargrave's edition of Coke upon Littleton; and a large portion of it forms that article, in the work of which he is now speaking. For all the other subjects he must acknowledge that he was slenderly qualified.

His acquaintance with the civil law was limited to an attentive perusal of the *Institutes*, both in the original, and in *Dr. Harris's excellent translation*; and of such articles in the *Digest* as related to the acquisition and transmission of property. He had read some articles in *Cujas*, *Voet*,

Huber and *Domat*, with the greatest satisfaction. Few works have given him more pleasure than the "*Antiquitatum Romanarum Syntagma*," of Heineccius; the same author's "*Historia Juris* "*Romani et Germanici*;" the "*Historia Juris* "*Romani*;" of Brunquellus, and the "*Orbis Ro-* "*manus*," of Spanheim. From the first of these works, the elegant and philosophical view of the Roman law presented by *Mr. Gibbon* to the readers of his history, is principally extracted.

It has often occurred to the writer, that, for persons designed for parliament or the bar, the interval between studies merely classical and studies practically useful, could not be employed better than in the perusal of the Institutes, in the edition of them by Dr. Harris, and the *Syntagma* of Heineccius, as a commentary.

The whole of the *Liber Feudorum*, with the commentary of Cujas,—and of *Du Moulin's Traité des Fiefs*; some of the *Plaidoyers of the chancellor d'Agüesseau*, and some but very small portions of different works of *Pothier*, he had perused. His reading on public law had been confined to a portion, not very large, of *Vattel*.

Some circumstances have required him to consult frequently and largely the *Jus Ecclesiasticum* of *Van Espen*; the only work, perhaps, which the continent has produced, that can be compared with Mr. Justice Blackstone's commen-

taries. It presents the same pleasing mixture of historical, philosophical, and practical jurisprudence; it is written with equal perspicuity and method; and, perhaps, with greater knowledge of forensic instruments and proceedings.

It is observable that the civilians of antiquity branched into two sects: one contended for a strict adherence to the letter and forms of the law; the other recommended a benign interpretation of it, and great latitude in the observance of its forms. From the names of their respective leaders, those were called Proculeians, these Sabinians or Cafrians. Something like this difference has long subsisted at the English bar; but the good sense of English lawyers has prevented them from forming themselves into sects. About the year 1770, a bill was brought into the house of commons, for allowing defendants, in almost all cases, to plead the general issue, and to give the special matter in evidence; the measure failed: its effect would have been to confine special pleading within very narrow limits: it was not a little remarkable that it was favoured by Mr. Wallace, who was a mere special pleader, and opposed by Mr. Dunning, who, like the Reminiscent's friend Mr. Tidd, was both a special pleader and much more.

X.

EDITION OF MR. FEARNE'S ESSAY ON CONTINGENT REMAINDERS.

LONG after this time, the Reminiscent again appeared before the public in the humble character of a legal editor.

A new edition of *Mr. Fearne's Essay on Contingent Remainders*, one of the most profound and useful works that have issued from the legal presses of this country, being called for, it was entrusted to him.

Mr. Fearne was a general scholar; he was profoundly versed in mathematics, chemistry and mechanics. He had obtained a patent for dying scarlet, and solicited one for a preparation of porcelain. A friend of the Reminiscent having communicated to an eminent gunsmith, a project of a musket, of greater power and much less size than that in ordinary use, the gunsmith pointed out to him its defects, and observed, that "a Mr. Fearne, an obscure law-"man, in Breame's-buildings, Chancery-lane, "had invented a musket, which, although de-"fective, was much nearer to the attainment of "the object."

Mr. Fearne had composed a treatise in the

Greek language, on the *Greek accents*; another on the *Retreat of the ten thousand.* He mentioned to the Reminiscent, that, when he resolved to dedicate himself to the study of the law, he burned his profane library and wept over its flames: and that the works, which he most regretted, were the Homilies of St. John Chrysostom to the people of Antioch, and the comedies of Aristophanes.

Of the transcendent merit of the *Essay on Contingent Remainders*, there is but one opinion: the writer's edition of it appears to have been favourably received: he cannot flatter himself that it has added much to the intrinsic value of the work, unless it has been by pointing out its beautiful method and analytical arrangement, which, except by persons familiar both with the subject and the work, were, from the mode of its publication, scarcely to be observed.

XI.

FORENSIC ELOQUENCE.

ANOTHER legal publication of the Reminiscent, if it deserve that appellation, is a short *Essay on the character of lord Mansfield*, which he composed at the request of the late Mr. Seward, and which was inserted by that gentleman in his *Anecdotes*. An insertion of part of it in this place, and an account of the forensic eloquence of some other distinguished personages of our times, may not be unacceptable to the readers of these pages.

XI. 1.

Lord Mansfield.

Lord Mansfield was sent, at the usual age, to the university of Oxford. He applied to the study of the classics, and afterwards to the study of law, with great diligence. He told the writer, that he had translated many of Cicero's Orations into English, and then translated them back into Latin. He also mentioned, that, while he was a student in the temple, he and some other students had regular meetings to discuss legal questions; that they prepared their arguments with great care; and that he afterwards found many of these useful to him, not only at the bar but upon the bench.

For some time after his call to the bar, he was without any practice. There is a letter from Mr. Pope, in answer to one from him, in which he had mentioned this circumstance with good-humour. A speech which he made as counsel at the bar of the house of lords, first brought him into notice. Upon this, business poured in upon him from all sides; and he himself was heard to say, that he never knew the difference between a total want of employment and a gain of 3,000 *l.* a year.

To this Mr. Pope alludes in the following lines:—

"Graced as thou art, with all the power of words,
"So known, so honour'd at the house of lords."

The second of these lines has been considered as a great falling off from the first. They were thus parodied by Colley Cibber:—

"Persuasion tips his tongue whene'er he talks,
"And he has chambers in the king's bench walks *."

To the chambers in the king's bench walks, Mr. Pope has an allusion in one of the least

* Few will defend "the house of lords" thus arraigned by Cibber: but in the verse,

Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam,

is the last hemistic,—and in the verses,

Ex hujus, nate, auspiciis illa inclutæ Roma
Imperium terris, animos æquabit Olympo,
Septemque una sibi muro circumdabit arces.

is the third,—more defensible?

read, but not least beautiful, of his compositions, his imitation of the first ode of the fourth book of Horace:—

"To *number five* direct your doves;
"There spread round Murray all your blooming loves;
"Noble and young, who strikes the heart
"With every sprightly, every decent part;
"Equal, the injur'd to defend,
"To charm the mistress, or to fix the friend.
"He with an hundred arts refin'd,
"Shall spread thy conquests over half the kind:
"To him, each rival shall submit,
"Make but his riches equal to his wit."

The two last verses allude to an unsuccessful address made by his lordship, in the early part of his life, to a lady of great wealth. Mr. Pope adverts to it in the following lines:—

"Shall one whom nature, learning, birth conspir'd
"To form, not to admire, but be admir'd,
"Sigh, while his Chloe, blind to wit and worth,
"Weds the rich dulness of some son of earth?"

His lordship learned much of special pleading from Mr. Justice Dennison, and much of the law of property from Mr. Booth. He confined his practice to the court of chancery. His command of words, and the gracefulness of his action, formed a striking contrast with the manner of speaking of some of his rivals, who were equally distinguished by the extent and depth of their legal knowledge, and their unpleasant enunciation.

After he had filled, with great applause, the offices of solicitor and attorney-general, he was created chief justice of the king's bench, in May 1756, on the decease of sir Dudley Ryder. He held that high situation during two-and-thirty years. On every occasion, he was equally attentive to the bar and the suitors of the court. In all he said or did, there was a happy mixture of good-nature, good-humour, elegance, ease and dignity. His countenance was, indescribably beautiful; it was an assemblage of genius, dignity and good-nature, which none could behold without reverence and regard. An engraving by Bartolozzi of a portrait of his lordship by sir Joshua Reynolds, presents a strong resemblance of him in a very advanced age. Nature had given him an eye of fire; its last lingering gleam is exquisitely exhibited in the engraving. His voice, till it was affected by the years which passed over him, was perhaps unrivalled in its sweetness and the mellifluous variety of its tones. There was a similitude between his action and Mr. Garrick's; and, in the latter part of his life, his voice discovered something of that gutturalness, by which Mr. Garrick's was distinguished. He spoke slowly, sounding distinctly every letter of every word. In some instances he had a great peculiarity of pronunciation—"authority" and "attachment,"

two words of frequent use in the law, he always pronounced *awtawrity* and *attaichment*. His expressions were sometimes low; he did not always observe the rules of grammar; there was great confusion in his periods, very often beginning without ending them, and involving his sentences in endless parentheses: yet, such was the charm of his voice and action, and such the general beauty, propriety and force of his expressions, that, while he spoke, all these defects passed unnoticed. No one ever remarked them, who did not obstinately confine his attention and observation to them.

Among his contemporaries, he had some superiors in force, and some equals in persuasion; but in insinuation, he was without a rival or a second. This was particularly distinguishable in his speeches from the bench. He excelled in the statement of a case; Mr. Burke said of it, "that it was, of itself, worth the argument of "any other man." He divested it of all unnecessary circumstances; brought together all that were of importance; placed them in so striking a point of view, and connected them by observations so powerful, but which appeared to arise so naturally from the facts themselves, that frequently the hearer was convinced before he began to argue. When he argued, he showed equal ability, but it was a mode of

argument almost peculiar to himself. His statement of the case predisposed the hearers to fall into the very train of thought he wished them to take, when they should come to consider his arguments. Through these he accompanied them, leading them insensibly to every observation favourable to the conclusion he wished them to draw, and diverting every objection to it; but, all the time, keeping himself concealed; so that the hearers thought they formed their opinions in consequence of the powers and workings of their own minds, when, in fact, it was the effect of the most subtle argumentation and the most refined dialectic.

In a conversation, which he permitted a student at the English bar to have with him, he expressed himself in terms of great esteem for Littleton, but spoke of lord Coke, particularly of "his attempting to give reasons for every thing," (this was his phrase), with disrespect. He mentioned lord Hardwicke in terms of admiration and of the warmest friendship: "When his lordship pronounced his decrees, wisdom herself," he said, "might be supposed to speak." It is somewhat remarkable that both Mr. Burke and Mr. Wilkes described to the Reminiscent, lord Hardwicke's oratory in these very words.

In the same conversation, lord Mansfield observed with great satisfaction, that during the

long period of his chief justiceship, there had been but one case in which he had ultimately differed with his brother judges of the same court. This was the case of Perryn against Blake. He lamented the difference, but declared his conviction, that the opinion he delivered upon it was right.

He recommended Saunders's Reports. He observed, that the quantity of professional reading absolutely necessary, or even really useful, to a lawyer, was not so great as was usually imagined; but, he observed, "that it was essen-"tial he should read much," as he termed it, "in his own defence; lest, by appearing igno-"rant on subjects which did not relate to his "particular branch of the profession, his igno-"rance of that particular branch might be in-"ferred."

Speaking of the great increase of the number of law books, he remarked, that it did not increase the quantity of necessary reading, as the new publications frequently made the reading of the former publications unnecessary. Thus, he said, since Mr. Justice Blackstone had published his Commentaries, no one thought of reading Wood's Institutes or Finch's Law, which, till then, were the first books usually put into the hands of students. He said that when he was young, few persons would confess that they had

not read a considerable part, at least, of the Year-books; but that, at the time in which he was speaking, few would pretend to more than an occasional recourse to them in very particular cases. He warmly recommended the part of *Giannone's History of Naples*, which gives the history of jurisprudence, and of the disputes between the church and the state. He mentioned *Chillingworth* as a perfect model of argumentation.

In the fundamental principles, either of the constitution or the jurisprudence of this country, no one dreaded innovation more than he did. His speech on the case of Eltham Allen shows his notions on the great subject of toleration: it was published by Dr. Furneaux. He was the first judge who openly discountenanced prosecutions on the popery laws. His charge to the jury, in the case of Mr. James Webb, a roman-catholic priest, tried in 1768 for saying mass, is printed from the notes of the short-hand writer, in a life of Dr. Challoner, a roman-catholic bishop, by Mr. James Barnard.

To these may be added, a speech against the suspending and dispensing prerogative, printed in Mr. Almon's collection. It is an invaluable composition, and presents, perhaps, the clearest notions that have yet appeared in print, of this mysterious and delicate part of the law. It discovers much of his manner of arguing, and

his turn of expression. It cannot, however, be considered as his genuine speech: it is at least three times the size of the speech really delivered by him. He obtained by it a complete triumph over lord Camden and lord Chatham.

It has been argued, that his knowledge of the law was by no means profound, and that his great professional eminence was owing more to his oratory than to his knowledge. This was an early charge against him: Mr. Pope alludes to it in these lines:

"The temple late two brother sergeants saw,
"Who deemed each other oracles of law;
"Each had a gravity would make you split,
"And shook his head at Murray as a wit."

Imitations of Horace, book ii. epist. ii.

Perhaps the opinion was founded on the notion which many entertain, that the study of the polite arts is incompatible with a profound knowledge of the law; not recollecting, that the human mind necessarily requires some relaxation, and that a change of study is the greatest and most natural of all relaxations, to a mind engaged in professional pursuits. Besides —the *commune vinculum* between all branches of learning, preserves the habits of application, of thinking, and of judging, which are lost in the modes of dissipation usually resorted to for

relaxation. The chancellor d'Aguesseau*, and even the stern du Moulin, were eminently distinguished by their general literature. Lord Bacon's various and profound knowledge is universally known; and many works of lord Hale are published, which show, that to the deepest and most extensive knowledge of all the branches of the law, the constitution, and the antiquities of his country, he united a general acquaintaince with the history of other nations; that he had given much of his time to the study of theology; that he occasionally sacrificed to the muses, and spent some time in the curious and instructive amusements of experimental philosophy. It was late in life, that lord Hardwicke took up the study of polite literature, but he afterwards pursued it with great earnestness. His son, lord chancellor Yorke, always called himself a fugitive from the muses; and, amidst his vast variety of occupation, still found time to converse with them. The elegant attainments of sir William Scott have not prevented him from being the most eminent civilian of his times. Lord Thurlow's passion for classical literature is generally known. Each of these great men might have said with Cicero,

* This great magistrate used to say, "*Le changement "d'étude est toujours un délassement pour moi.*"

"*Quis tandem me reprehendat, aut quis mihi*
"*jure succenseat, si quantum cæteris, ad suas,*
"*res obeundas, quantum ad festos dies ludorum*
"*celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates, et ad*
"*ipsam requiem animi et corporis conceditur tem-*
"*poris; quantum alii tribuunt tempestivis con-*
"*viviis, quantum denique aleæ, quantum pilæ,*
"*tantum mihi egomet, ad hæc studia recolenda*
"*sumpsero.*"

To decide on his lordship's knowledge of the law, a serious perusal of his arguments, as counsel, in Mr. Atkyns's Reports, and of his speeches, as judge, in sir James Burrow's, Mr. Douglas's, and Mr. Cowper's, is absolutely necessary. If the former be compared with the arguments of his contemporaries, many of whom were men of the profoundest knowledge that ever appeared at the chancery bar, it will not be discovered, that in learning or research, in application of principles or in recollection of cases, his arguments are anywise inferior to those of the most eminent among them. Nor will he suffer by the comparison, if his speeches in giving his judgments from the bench, are compared with those of the counsel at the bar. It is easy to imagine, that, on some one occasion, a judge, with his lordship's mental endowments, by a particular application to the learning immediately referrible to the case in

question, and by consulting with persons eminently skilled in that particular branch of legal lore, may, with a very small stock of real knowledge of his own, express himself with a great appearance of extensive and recondite erudition. This, however, can be the case but seldom; the calls upon a chief justice of the king's bench for a full exertion of all his natural and acquired endowments being incessant. There is hardly a day of business in his court, in which a disclosure of his knowledge, or of his want of it, is not forced from him.

Considering his lordship's decisions separately, it will appear, that on all occasions he was perfectly master of the case before him, and apprised of every principle of law, and every adjudication of the courts, immediately or remotely applicable to it. Considering them collectively, they will be found to form a complete code of jurisprudence on some of the most important branches of our law: a system founded on principles equally liberal and just, admirably suited to the genius and circumstances of the age, and happily blending the venerable doctrines of the old law, with the learning and refinement of modern times; the work of a mind nobly gifted by nature, and informed with every kind of learning which could serve for use and ornament.

It was not on great occasions only, that his lordship's talents were conspicuous: they were equally discoverable in the common business of the courts. *Par negotiis neque supra**, was never more applicable than to the discernment, perseverance, abilities, and good-humour with which he conducted himself in this part of his office. The late earl of Sandwich said of him, "that his talents were more for common use, "and more at his finger ends, than those of "any other person he had known." But his highest praise is, that his private virtues were allowed by all, and his personal integrity was never called in question.

XI.

Lord Hardwicke—Lord Camden—Lord Thurlow—Lord Rosslyn—Sir William Grant—Lord Eldon.

1. AT the period when the Reminiscent engaged in the profession of the law, the talents displayed by *lord Hardwicke* in the senate and on the bench, were the universal theme of panegyric. Some,—but faintly,—blamed him for too frequently permitting principles of equity to control rules of law,—and this charge was occasionally insinuated by lord Northington, his immediate successor. But, the eminent merit of his lordship's

* Tacitus, *in Vitâ Agricolæ.*

general administration of justice in his court, was admitted by all. As far as we can form an opinion of it by the reports of the cases determined in his time, by Mr. Atkins and Mr. Vesey, his style of speaking was easy, copious and dignified: the terms in which lord Mansfield, Mr. Burke and Mr. Wilkes described it, have been mentioned.

2. The Reminiscent distinctly remembers *lord Camden's* presiding in the court of Chancery. His lordship's judicial eloquence was of the colloquial kind,—extremely simple; diffuse, but not desultory. He introduced legal idioms frequently, and always with a pleasing and great effect. His manner is very discernible in the anonymous "*Treatise of the Process of Latitat in Wales,*" published in Mr. Hargrave's Law Tracts. In a note to Mr. Hargrave, which that gentleman communicated to the Reminiscent, his lordship acknowledged himself to be its author. Sometimes, however, his lordship rose to the sublime strains of eloquence: but the sublimity was altogether in the sentiment; the diction retained its simplicity; this increased the effect. *

* It is known that his lordship, like many other distinguished personages, was a great reader of novels; and surely the hour of relaxation is as well employed in reading Tom Jones, or Clarissa, or any of the novels attributed to Sir

3. *Lord Thurlow*'s speeches from the bench were very different. They were strongly marked by the depth of legal knowledge, the force of expression which they displayed, and the overwhelming power with which he propounded the result. But they were too often enveloped in obscurity, and sometimes reason was rather silenced than convinced.

4. The *earl Rosslyn* seldom had justice done to his heart or his talents: we have mentioned his dereliction of the whigs, to whom he first attached himself in politics, and its having raised against him a prejudice, from which he never recovered. Long he ranked among the warmest and ablest friends of catholic emancipation; but in an evil hour, he sacrificed them at the commencement of lord Grenville's administration to the cry of "no popery," and instilled into the royal ear, the scruples on the coronation oath.

Walter Scott, as in the perusal of the productions of party pens.

At a house of great distinction, ten gentlemen of taste were desired to frame, each of them, a list of the ten most entertaining works that they had read. One work only found its way into every list.—It may amuse the reader to guess it—He will not be surprised to find it was—Gil Blas.

If the Reminiscent may be allowed to give his opinion,—the *Conjuration de Venise of the Abbé St. Real*, is the most interesting of publications.

Of this, it is said, his lordship afterwards repented.

His judicial oratory was exquisite. The greatest detractors from his merit acknowledged the perspicuity, the luminous order, and chaste elegance of his arguments. Like lord Camden, he frequently and successfully introduced law phrases into them. His greatest failings were, that he too clearly showed his want of attention to much which he heard from the bar, and his want of real taste for legal learning. With this taste, lord Mansfield, lord Camden, and lord Thurlow were thoroughly imbued. Lord Thurlow, long after he descended from the bench, sought for legal occupation.

5. The most perfect model of judicial eloquence which has come under the observation of the Reminiscent, is that of *sir William Grant*. —In hearing him it was impossible not to think of the character given of Menelaus, by Homer, or rather by Pope;—that,

"He spoke no more than just the thing he ought."

But sir William *did* much more:—in decompounding and analyzing an immense mass of confused and contradictory matter, and forming clear and unquestionable results, the sight of his mind was infinite. His exposition of facts, and of the consequences deducible from them,

his discussion of former decisions, and showing their legitimate weight and authority, and their real bearings upon the point in question were above praise: but the whole was done with such admirable ease and simplicity, that while real judges felt its supreme excellence, the herd of hearers believed that they should have done the same.

Never was the merit of Dr. Johnson's definition of a perfect style,—"proper words in proper places," more sensibly felt than it was by those who listened to sir William Grant. The charm of it was indescribable;—its effect on the hearers was that, which Milton describes, when he paints Adam listening to the angel after the angel had ceased to speak;—often and often has the Reminiscent beheld the bar listening, at the close of a judgment given by sir William, with the same feeling of admiration at what they had heard, and the same regret that it was heard no more.

6. The Reminiscent feels it impossible to quit this subject without paying his humble but sincere tribute of admiration to the noble earl, who now presides in the court of Chancery. In profound, extensive and accurate knowledge of the principles of his court, and the rules of

practice which regulate its proceedings,—in complete recollection and just appreciation of former decisions,—in discerning the inferences to be justly drawn from them,—in the power of instantaneously applying this immense theoretical and practical knowledge to the business immediately before the court,—in perceiving almost with intuitive readiness, on the first opening of a case, its real state, and the ultimate conclusion of equity upon it, yet investigating it with the most conscientious, most minute, and most edifying industry,—in all, or in any of these requisites for a due discharge of his high office,—*Lord Eldon*, if he has been equalled, has assuredly never been surpassed by any of his predecessors.—He has other merits:—He has often opposed popular clamour,—yet he has always been popular; but, to use the words of lord Mansfield*, "it has been with that popu-"larity which follows, not with that which is "run after." He has almost always supported administration, but has never been subservient to any minister; and among those, who by dignity of character attach public opinion to the British government, and thus secure its stability, his lordship is universally allowed to be eminently conspicuous. On all this, there is no

* In the case of Rex v. Wilkes, 4 Burr. p. 2562.

dissentient voice: All, which these lines have expressed, or attempted to express, the Reminiscent has heard often, and much better said by the late sir Samuel Romilly, both in public and in private:—testimony goes no higher.

XII.

PARLIAMENTARY ELOQUENCE—LORD CHATHAM—LORD NORTH—MR. FOX—MR. PITT—MR. BURKE.

THE administration of lord North was certainly an æra in the history of British eloquence: what, in respect to the orators of Rome, is observed by Velleius Paterculus of Cicero, will probably be said of lord North, that "no "member of either house of the British parlia- "ment will be ranked among the orators of "this country whom lord North did not see, or "who did not see lord North."

XII.

Lord Chatham.

Of those, by whom lord North was preceded, none probably except lord Chatham will be remembered by posterity. It was frequently given to the writer of these pages to hear the speeches, both in the house of commons and the house of lords, of this extraordinary man. No person in his external appearance was ever more bountifully gifted by nature for an orator. In his look and his gesture,

grace and dignity were combined, but dignity presided; the "terrors of his beak, the lightning "of his eye," were insufferable. His voice was both full and clear; his lowest whisper was distinctly heard, his middle tones were sweet, rich, and beautifully varied; when he elevated his voice to its highest pitch, the house was completely filled with the volume of the sound. The effect was awful, except when he wished to cheer or animate; and then he had spirit-stirring notes, which were perfectly irresistible. He frequently rose, on a sudden, from a very low to a very high key, but it seemed to be without effort. His diction was remarkably simple, but words were never chosen with greater care; he mentioned to a friend of the Reminiscent, that he had read twice, from beginning to end, *Bailey's Dictionary*; and that he had perused some of *Dr. Barrow's Sermons* so often, as to know them by heart.

His sentiments, too, were apparently simple; but sentiments were never adopted or uttered with greater skill; he was often familiar and even playful, but it was the familiarity and playfulness of condescension: the lion that dandled with the kid. The terrible, however, was his peculiar power.—Then the whole house sunk before him.—Still he was dignified; and wonderful as was his eloquence, it was attended

with this most important effect, that it impressed every hearer with a conviction that there was something in him, finer even than his words; that the man was infinitely greater than the orator: no impression of this kind was made by the eloquence of his son, or his son's antagonist.

But,—with this great man,—for great he certainly was,—manner did much. One of the fairest specimens which we possess of his lordship's oratory, is his speech, in 1766, for the repeal of the stamp act.

"Annuit, et nutu totum tremefecit Olympum."

VIRGIL.

Most, perhaps, who read the report of this speech, in Almon's Register, will wonder at the effect which it is known to have produced on the hearers; yet the report is tolerably exact, and exhibits, although faintly, its leading features. But they should have seen the look of ineffable contempt with which he surveyed the late Mr. Grenville, who sat within one of him, and should have heard him say with that look, —"As to the late ministry,—every capital mea-"sure they have taken has been entirely wrong." They should also have beheld him, when, addressing himself to Mr. Grenville's successors, he said,—"As to the present gentlemen,—those, "at least, whom I have in my eye,"—(looking at the bench on which Mr. Conway sate,)—"I have

"no objection: I have never been made a sa-
"crifice by any of them.—Some of them have
"done me the honour to ask my poor opinion,
"before they would engage to repeal the act:—
"they will do me the justice to own, I did ad-
"vise them to engage to do it,—but notwith-
"standing,—(for I love to be explicit,)—I can-
"not give them my confidence.—Pardon me,
"gentlemen,"—(bowing to them,)—"confidence
"is a plant of slow growth." Those, who re-
member the air of condescending protection
with which the bow was made and the look
given, when he spoke these words, will recollect
how much they themselves at the moment were
both delighted and awed, and what they them-
selves then conceived of the immeasurable su-
periority of the orator over every human being
that surrounded him.—In the passages which
we have cited, there is nothing which an ordi-
nary speaker might not have said; it was the
manner, and the manner only, which produced
the effect.

An interesting and accurate account of Mr.
Pitt's style of oratory, and its prodigious effect
on his audience, may be found in a letter of lord
Holland, his distinguished contemporary, pub-
lished in the appendix to lord Waldegrave's
Memoirs. *

* Page 147.

" Mr. Wilkes, a friend it seems of Pitt's, pe-
" titioned against the younger Delaval, chose at
" Berwick, on account of bribery only. The
" younger Delaval made a speech on his being
" thus attacked, full of wit, humour and buf-
" foonery, which kept the house in a continual
" roar of laughter. Mr. Pitt came down from
" the gallery, and took it up in his highest tone
" of dignity. ' He was astonished when he
" heard what had been the occasion of their
" mirth. Was the dignity of the house of com-
" mons on so sure foundations, that they might
" venture themselves to shake it?—Had it not,
" on the contrary, by gradations been diminish-
" ing for years, till now we were brought to the
" very brink of the precipice, where, if ever, a
" stand must be made?' High compliments to
" the Speaker,—eloquent exhortation to whigs of
" all conditions, to defend their attacked and ex-
" piring liberty, &c. ' Unless you will degene-
" rate into *a little assembly, serving no other pur-*
" *pose than to register the arbitrary edicts of one*
" *too powerful subject*,' (laying on the words *one*
" and *subject* the most remarkable emphasis.) I
" have verified these words by five or six dif-
" ferent people, so that your lordship may be
" assured they were his very words. When I
" came in, he was recapitulating, and ended
" with '*your being designed, or likely*.' (I cannot

"tell which he said,) '*to be an appendix to—I know not what—I have no name for it.*' Dis- "pleased, as well as pleased, allow it to be the "finest speech that was ever made; and it was "observed, that, by his first two periods, he "brought the house to a silence and attention, "that you might have heard a pin drop. Ex- "cept the words marked, observe that I do not "pretend to give your lordship his words, but "only the purport of his speech, of which a "good deal was on bribery, I suppose, and the "manner of treating it, which so much tended "to lower, what was already too low, the au- "thority of the house of commons. The speaker "shook him by the hand, ready to shake it off; "which, I hear, gave almost as great offence as "the speech. I just now hear the duke of New- "castle was in the utmost fidget, and that it "spoiled his stomach yesterday."

Nothing can be better related; but, *absit invidia verbo*, is it quite clear that lord Holland was fully sensible of what produced the effect which he has described so well?—From his anxiety to ascertain the words really spoken by Mr. Pitt, his lordship seems to have thought that the words produced the effect; but it seems quite evident that it was not the words, but the manner, in which the words were spoken, which did the wonder.—This, however, used to escape the

observation of the hearers; they were quite blind to Mr. Pitt's manner, and ascribed the whole to what he said; and, judging of this by the effect which it produced on them, concluded that what he said was infinitely finer than it really was, or even than any words could be. This was one of the most marvellous qualities of his oratory.*

In another letter †, in the appendix to the same correspondence, lord Holland describes in one line the effect of Mr. Pitt's oratory, when he intended to be severe, on the object of his severities.—"In both Mr. Pitt's speeches, every "word fell on Murray ‡; yet so managed, that

* An account of this speech was given to the Reminiscent by Mr. Wilkes.—That gentleman opposed the Delavals, at the election for Berwick, mentioned by lord Holland; and the Delavals having, from a motive of economy, sent up their London voters to Berwick by sea, Mr. Wilkes induced the captain of the vessel, by a large bribe, to land them in Norway; For this he was threatened with a prosecution. He mentioned to the Reminiscent, that when Mr. Pitt rose, and began to speak in the solemn and austere manner, mentioned in lord Holland's letter, he thought the thunder was to fall upon him;—and he declared, that he never, while he was at Westminster, felt greater terror, when he was called up to be chastised, than he did while the uncertainty lasted; or felt greater jubilation when he was pardoned, than when he found the thunder was destined to another head.

† Page 152.

‡ Lord Mansfield.

" neither he nor any body else could or did take " public notice of it, or in any degree reprehend " him. I sat near Murray, *who suffered for an* " *hour.*"

The whole speech, on the repeal of the stamp act, is very fine: " I sought for merit," said lord Chatham, " wherever it was to be " found. It is my boast, that I was the first " minister who looked for it; and I found it in " the mountains of the north. I called it forth, " and drew it into your service,—a hardy and " intrepid race of men. Men, who, when left " by your jealousy, became a prey to the arti- " fices of your enemies, and had gone nigh to " have overturned the state, in the war before " the last. These men, in the last war, were " brought to combat on your side; they served " with fidelity, as they fought with valour, and " conquered for you in every part of the world. " Detested be the national prejudices against " them! they are unjust, groundless, illiberal, " unmanly.—When I ceased to serve his ma- " jesty as minister, it was not the *country* of the " man* by which I was moved:—but *the man* " *of that country* wanted *wisdom*, and held prin- " ciples incompatible with freedom."

His celebrated reply to Horace Walpole has been immortalized by the report given of it by

* Lord Bute.

Dr. Johnson.—On one occasion, Mr. Moreton, the chief justice of Chester, a gentleman of some eminence at the bar, happened to say, "King, "lords and commons, or," (directing his eye towards lord Chatham;)—"as that right ho- "nourable member would call them, commons, "lords and king." The only fault of this sentence is its nonsense. Mr. Pitt arose,—as he ever did,—with great deliberation, and called to order: "I have," he said, "frequently heard "in this house, doctrines which have surprised "me; but now my blood runs cold. I desire "the words of the honourable member may be "taken down." The clerks of the house wrote the words. "Bring them to me," said Mr. Pitt, in a voice of thunder. By this time, Mr. More- ton was frightened from his senses. "Sir," he said, addressing himself to the Speaker, "I am "sorry to have given any offence to the right "honourable member, or to the house: I meant "nothing. King, lords and commons,—lords, "king and commons,—commons, lords and "king;—*tria juncta in uno*.—I meant nothing! "Indeed I meant nothing."—"I don't wish to "push the matter further," said lord Chatham, in a voice a little above a whisper:—then, in a higher tone,—"the moment a man acknowledges "his error, he ceases to be guilty.—I have a "great regard for the honourable member, and,

"as an instance of that regard, I give him this "advice:"—a pause of some moments ensued, —then, assuming a look of unspeakable derision,—he said in a kind of colloquial tone,— "Whenever that member *means* nothing, I re- "commend him to *say* nothing."

On one occasion,—while he was speaking, sir William Young called out, "question, ques- "tion!"—Lord Chatham paused,—then, fixing on sir William a look of inexpressible disgust, —exclaimed,—"pardon me, Mr. Speaker, my "agitation!—when that member calls for the "question, I fear I hear the knell of my coun- "try's ruin!"

When the Prussian subsidy, an unpopular measure, was in agitation in the house of commons, lord Chatham justified it with infinite address: insensibly, he subdued all his audience, and a murmur of approbation was heard from every part of the house. Availing himself of the moment, his lordship placed himself in an attitude of stern defiance, but perfect dignity, and exclaimed in his loudest tone,—"Is there "an Austrian among you? Let him stand for- "ward and reveal himself!"

On another occasion, immediately after he had finished a speech, in the house of commons, he walked out of it; and, as usual, with a very slow step. A silence ensued, till the door was

opened to let him into the lobby. A member then started up, saying, "I rise to reply to the "right honourable member."—Lord Chatham turned back, and fixed his eye on the orator,—who instantly sat down dumb: then his lordship returned to his seat, repeating as he hobbled along, the verses of Virgil:

"Ast Danaum progenes, Agamemnoniæque phalanges,
"Ut vidêre virum, fulgentiaque arma per umbras,
"Ingenti trepidare metu,—pars vertere retro,
"Sæpe quondam petiêre rates,—pars tollere vocem
"Exiguam,—inceptus clamor frustratur hiantes."

Then placing himself in his seat,—he exclaimed, "Now let me hear what the honourable mem-"ber has to say to me?" On the writer's asking the gentleman, from whom he heard this anecdote,—if the house did not laugh at the ridiculous figure of the poor member?—"No, sir," he replied, "we were all too much awed to laugh."

But the most extraordinary instance of his command of the house, is, the manner in which he fixed indelibly on Mr. Grenville, the appellation of "the gentle shepherd." At this time, a song of Dr. Howard, which began with the words, "Gentle shepherd tell me where,"—and in which each stanza ended with that line,—was in every mouth. On some occasion, Mr. Grenville exclaimed: "Where is our money?

" where are our means? I say again, where are " our means? where is our money?" He then sat down;—and lord Chatham paced slowly out of the house, humming the line, " Gentle shepherd " tell me where."—The effect was irresistible, and settled on Mr. Grenville the appellation of " the gentle shepherd."

A gentleman mentioned the two last circumstances to the late Mr. Pitt; the minister observed that they were proofs of his father's ascendancy in the house; but that no specimens remained of the eloquence, by which that ascendancy was procured. The gentleman recommended to him to read slowly his father's speeches for the repeal of the stamp-act; and, while he repeated them, to bring to his mind, as well as he could, the figure, the look and the voice, with which his father might be supposed to have pronounced them. Mr. Pitt did so, and admitted the probable effect of the speech thus delivered.

In private intercourse, lord Chatham, though always lofty, was very insinuating. The prince of Wales, the grandfather of our present sovereign, and Mr. Pitt were once walking in the garden at Stow, apart from the general company, who followed them at some distance. They seemed to be engaged in earnest conversation; lord Cobham expressed to

Mr. Belson, from whom the writer received this anecdote, an apprehension of Mr. Pitt's drawing the prince into some measures which his lordship disapproved. Mr. Belson observed to his lordship that the *tête-à-tête* could not be of long duration. "Sir," said his lordship with eagerness, "you don't know Mr. Pitt's talent of "insinuation; in a very short quarter of an hour "he can persuade any one of any thing."

As a companion in festive moments Mr. Pitt was enchanting. Mr. Wilkes* closed a humourous comparison, after Plutarch's manner, of Mr. Pitt, with Mr. Rigby, by the following words:—"In their more private characters both "Mr. Pitt and Mr. Rigby have generosity and "spirit: in other things they differ; Mr. Pitt "is abstemious, temperate and regular. Mr. "Rigby indulges more in convivial pleasure, "is an excellent *bon vivant*, amiable and en"gaging. Mr. Pitt, by the most manly sense, "and the fine sallies of a warm and sportive "imagination, can charm the whole day, and, "as the Greek said, his entertainments please "even the day after they are given. Mr. Rigby "has all the gibes and gambols, and flashes of "merriment, which set the table in a roar; but "—the day after, a cruel headach *at least* fre"quently succeeds.—In short, I wish to spend

* North Briton, No. XXXI.

"all my days with Mr. Pitt, but I am afraid "that at night, I should often skulk to Mr. "Rigby and his friends." Mr. Pitt cultivated the muses through life. Mr. Seward's anecdotes contain an imitation by him of the ode of Horace, "*Tyrrhena regum progenies*," which shows a very classical mind. He also translated the speech of Pericles, inserted in Smith's version of Thucydides: this, through one person only, came to the writer of these pages from the late Mr. Pitt.

His acceptance of a peerage would have been defensible, if it had not had the fatal effect of lessening the belief of public virtue, already shaken by the apostacy of Mr. Pulteney. His insisting on the retention of Canada,—which might have proved an effectual check on the rebellious projects of the American colonists,—in preference to the islands, which France was willing to cede to us, was, at the time, a matter of surprise to many; M. de Vergennes used to mention it, as one of the greatest political errors that had ever been committed.

We have two characters of lord Chatham; one is attributed to Grattan; the other was certainly written by Mr. Wilkes.

XII. 2.

Lord North.

A VERY expressive word in our language,—which describes an assemblage of many real virtues, of many qualities approaching nearly to virtue, and an union of manners at once pleasing and commanding respect,—the word "gentleman," was never applied to any person in a higher degree, or more generally, than it was to lord North, and to all he said or did in the house of commons.

His lordship did not aspire to the higher eloquence, but the house never possessed a more powerful debater; nor could any one avail himself of the strong part of a cause with greater ability, or defend its weak, with greater skill; no speaker was ever so conciliating, or enjoyed a greater proportion of the esteem and love of the house. Among his political adversaries, he had not a single enemy. With an unwieldy figure and a dull eye, the quickness of his mind seemed intuition. "I,"—lord Sandwich once said to the Reminiscent,—"must have pen and ink, and write down, and "ruminate: give lord North a bundle of papers, "and he'll turn them over,—perhaps, while his "hair is dressing; and he instantly knows

" their contents and all their bearings." His wit was never surpassed, and it was attended with this singular quality, that it never gave offence, and the object of it was sure to join with pleasure in the laugh. The assault of Mr. Adam on Mr. Fox, and of colonel Fullarton on lord Shelbourne, had once put the house into the worst possible humour, and there was more or less of savageness in every thing that was said:—lord North deprecated the too great readiness to take offence, which then seemed to possess the house. "One member," he said, "who spoke of me, called me 'that thing called "a minister:'—to be sure,"—he said, patting his large form,—"I am a thing;—the member, "therefore, when he called me a thing, said "what was true; and I could not be angry with "him; but, when he added, that thing called a "minister, he called me that thing, which of "all things, he himself wished most to be, and "therefore," said lord North, "I took it as "a compliment."—These good-natured sallies dropped from him incessantly.—On his resignation, he should have retired; many things, which may be defended, cannot be applauded: the coalition between his lordship and Mr. Fox was of this description.

XII. 3.

Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt.

On his first separation from the ministry, Mr. Fox assumed the character of a whig, and from that time,—uniformly advocated the cause of civil and religious liberty, on their broadest principles.

Almost the whole of his political life was spent in opposition to his majesty's ministers. It may be said of him, as of lord North, that he had political adversaries, but no enemy. Good-nature, too easily carried to excess, was one of the distinctive marks of his character. In vehemence and power of argument he resembled Demosthenes; but there, the resemblance ended. He possessed a strain of ridicule and wit, which nature denied to the Athenian, and it was the more powerful as it always appeared to be blended with argument, and identified in a manner with it. The moment of his grandeur was, when,—after he had stated the argument of his adversary, with much greater strength than his adversary had done, and with much greater strength than any of his hearers thought possible,—he seized it with the strength of a giant, and tore and trampled on it to destruction. If, at this moment, he had possessed the power

of the Athenian over the passions or the imaginations of his hearers, he might have disposed of the house at his pleasure,—but this was denied to him; and, on this account, his speeches fell very short of the effect, which, otherwise, they must have produced.

It is difficult to decide on the comparative merit of him and Mr. Pitt; the latter had not the vehement reasoning, or argumentative ridicule of Mr. Fox: but he had more splendour, more imagery, and much more method and discretion. In addition, he had the command of bitter contemptuous sarcasm, which stung to madness. It was prettily said by Mr. Gibbon, —"Billy's painted galley will soon sink under "Charles's black collier:"—but never did horoscope prove more false;—Mr. Fox said more truly;—"Pitt will do for us, if he does not do for himself."

Mr. Fox had a captivating earnestness of tone and manner; Mr. Pitt was more dignified than earnest; it was an observation of the reporters, in the gallery, that it required great exertion to follow Mr. Fox while he was speaking, none to remember what he had said; that it was easy and delightful to follow Mr. Pitt, not so easy to recollect what had delighted them. It may be added that, in all Mr. Fox's speeches, even when he was most violent, there was

an unquestionable indication of good-humour, which attracted every heart. Where there was such a seeming equipoise of merit, the two last circumstances might be thought to turn the scale: but Mr. Pitt's undeviating circumspection,—sometimes concealed, but sometimes ostentatiously displayed,—tended to obtain for him from the prudent and the grave, a confidence which they denied to his rival:—Besides, Mr. Pitt had no coalition, no India bill to defend.

Both orators were verbose: Mr. Fox by his repetitions,—Mr. Pitt by his amplifications. Mr. Grattan observed to the Reminiscent,—that no one heard Mr. Fox to advantage, who did not hear him before the coalition; or Mr. Pitt, who did not hear him, before he quitted office. Each defended himself on these occasions with surprizing ability: but each felt he had done something that required defence:—the talent remained, the mouth still spoke aloud, but the swell of soul was no more*. The situa-

* This remark of Mr. Grattan was just: and it does honour to the English nation, as it shows their high sense of immaculate character.

Mentioning the murder of the duke d'Enghien by the order of Buonaparte, Talleyrand is reported to have said, "C'était plus qu'un crime, c'était une faute:"—"it was "worse than a crime, it was a blunder." We believe that such an expression was never uttered by an Englishman,

tion of these eminent men at this time, put the Reminiscent in mind of a remark of Bossuet

and that it would be heard by no Englishman without disgust.'

It is known that Buonaparte ascribed this atrocious execution to Talleyrand:—in a conversation, which the ex-emperor held at Elba, with a friend of the Reminiscent, he mentioned the circumstance with regret: "J'en étais faché; ç'était "un brave jeune homme,—ç'était la faute de Talleyrand." The whole conversation to which the Reminiscent has referred is highly interesting; he apprehends that his readers will be pleased with the following account of an important portion of it.

"I most willingly comply with your request, in giving "you an account of some parts of the conversation I had the "good fortune to have with the emperor Napoleon.—After "conversing, for about a quarter of an hour, on various sub-"jects, relative mostly to the opinions entertained of him in "France,—he suddenly asked me, if I had not been educated "in that country; to which I replied that I had; and that a "person, on whom his imperial majesty had conferred great "honours, was at the same college, and at the same time;— "he asked me who he was; I told him the duke of Treviso, "marshal Mortier. 'Have you seen him in Paris,' said the "emperor; 'and what does he say of me?' I answered, "'That I had not, because he was at his country seat; but "that, if I might be permitted, I would state to his majesty "an anecdote of his conduct, after the battle of Talavera." "He warmly replied, 'I shall be delighted to hear it.'— "I then observed, that, after the battle, he found he had some "English officers, as prisoners, in his possession. He told "them that 'the fortune of war might make prisoners of the "bravest;' he observed, that 'officers, thus situated, were "frequently distressed for want of money; he therefore hoped

on Fénélon,—"Fénélon," he said, "has great "talents; much greater than mine; it is his mis-

"that he might be permitted to put into each of their hands "twenty napoleons, which, at their convenience, they would "replace to his credit at their bankers in London.' The "emperor instantly, and with warmth, exclaimed, 'Je suis "charmé de l'entendre, cela me fait grand plaisir; mais cela "ne me surprend pas, c'est digne de lui.' He then said, "'If you were educated in France, you are, perhaps, a ca-"tholic.' I said I was. 'Je le suis aussi,' replied his ma-"jesty; and added, 'on ne quitte jamais la réligion de ses "parens.'—This led him on to a long discussion of what is "called the catholic question, and of the law, which he de-"nominated 'la loi du texte,' meaning our test act. He "became very animated, and with evident pride to himself, "contrasted his mode of governing to that pursued in Great "Britain; laughed at men being frightened, in this enlight-"ened age, at popes or priests; and observed with great em-"phasis, that his rule of conduct had been to extinguish all "religious animosities, by giving to all, an identity of in-"terests, and thus to consolidate public opinion to his go-"vernment. He added, 'I gave to the protestants and to "the catholics pecuniary establishments, and equal civil "rights; and I found, to the last hour of my reign, the pro-"testants warmly attached to me. The jews also partici-"pated in all civil rights, and I found them, not only in "France, but in the many difficulties in which I was en-"gaged, in my campaigns in Poland, warmly attached to "me.' The conversation then turned on various points, his "opinion of our regent, and other sovereigns of Europe, and "on several other topics, until it came to the developement "of his opinions on the many great benefits he had conferred "on the French empire. The greatest of these he evidently "considered the *Code Napoléon*, which, he said, happen

" fortune to have brought himself into a situa-
" tion, in which all his talents are necessary for
" his defence."

" what would to him, would carry his fame down to pos-
" terity. He mentioned the ecclesiastical establishments he
" had given to France, together with the increase and sti-
" mulus he had given to her internal trade; these he classed
" among his most salutary acts of civil legislation. He said
" that he pretended not to have more religion than other
" men; but that he had always entertained an opinion tha
" an ecclesiastical establishment was necessary for a people.
" On that principle he had acted, and had formed a concordat
" with the pope. He then entered at large on the situation
" of France, when he became consul; and stated, among
" other things, that, when he entered upon its government,
" he found property without security, a people without spi-
" ritual ministers, churches turned into temples of reason,
" and anarchy and confusion in the country. That, in form-
" ing the ecclesiastical establishment, he considered that the
" priesthood should not be too rich, and, at the same time,
" that they should be independent; but, to consolidate the
" church with the state, he made both the treasury and the
" land-owners pay towards the maintenance of the priest-
" hood. After dwelling on various particulars, he entered
" slightly on the subject of education, which, he said, it was
" his intention to have greatly improved. He asked me, if
" I had noticed any of the institutions of *the Brothers of the*
" *Christian Doctrine*; I answered that I had visited very
" minutely two of their establishments. On this he ob-
" served, that it was his intention to have very much in-
" creased them, as he believed them to be good, practical
" institutions for the education of the lower classes of the
" people; that he had endowed several, and that the prefects
" had reported, generally, very well of them. The conversa-

On two occasions, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox may be thought to have brought into the field, something like an equality of force. When the attack was made on the coalition, Mr. Pitt had the king, Mr. Fox a great majority of the members of the house of commons, on his side: when the regency was in question, Mr. Pitt had the same majority in the house, Mr. Fox had the heir-apparent:—the tug of war was great; but may it not be said, that, on each occasion, Mr. Fox facilitated by his own imprudence the victory of his adversary. "Give me," said the cardinal de Retz to a person who had tauntingly observed to him, cardinal Mazarin's superiority over him,—"Give me the king but for one day "and you'll see which has the real superiority."—Mr. Fox never had the king with him, even for a day.

"tion shortly after turned upon England. He said, that, "for several years, England had been at the zenith of her "glory; that she might, for some time, remain there;— "but, that such must be the pressure on her, from her im- "mense national debt, and such the necessary decrease of "her trade, from the great stimulus he had given to the "commerce of continental nations, that her descent into the "rank of secondary nations was nearer at hand than was "probably generally imagined.

"These are the very words of some parts of the conver- "sation I had the honour to hold with this most extra- "ordinary man; a conversation which to the hour of my "death I shall never forget."

The most astonishing display of talent by Mr. Pitt, witnessed by the Reminiscent was, when the catholic-bill was first agitated after his return to office. Narrow, and short, was the only plank on which he could stand: but there he placed himself; and he defended himself upon it with such ease and adroitness, that he was seldom touched by his adversaries, and had often the posture of a successful assailant.

XII. 4.

Mr. Burke.

GREATLY inferior to either of these extraordinary men, if we are to judge of him by his speeches, as he delivered them,—but greatly superior to both, if we are to judge of him by his speeches, as he published them,—Edmund Burke will always hold an eminent rank among the most distinguished characters of this country. Estimating him by his written speeches, we shall find nothing comparable to him, till we reach the Roman orator. Equal to that great man in dialectic, in imagery, in occasional splendour, and in general information;—exceeding him in political wisdom, and the application of history and philosophy to politics, he yields to him in grace and taste, and even in that which was not the forte of Cicero, in discretion. A philosophical review of his speeches and

writings, keeping his politics, as his inferior gift, in the back ground, might serve for the subject of an useful and interesting discussion.

What particularly distinguished Mr. Burke from the Greek and Roman orator, and from his contemporary rivals, was his frequent admixture of coarse and low expressions, even into his most splendid passages. The effect of it was sometimes great, and then redeemed them; but they sometimes deformed and disgusted. "The Venus of Phidias," Wilkes used to say, "was so lovely, that the Athenians called her "the Venus of roses: Lovely too; speaking "generally, is the Venus of Burke, but she "sometimes is the Venus of whisky."

In familiar conversation, the three great men, whom we have mentioned, equally excelled: but even the most intimate friends of Mr. Fox complained of his too frequent ruminating silence. Mr. Pitt talked;—and his talk was fascinating. A good judge said of him, that he was the only person he had known, who possessed the talent of condescension. Yet his loftiness never forsook him; still, one might be sooner seduced to take liberties with him, than with Mr. Fox. Mr. Burke's conversation was rambling, but splendid, rich and instructive beyond comparison.

XII. 5.

Miscellaneous Observations on Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Burke.

A CRITIQUE of Mr. Pitt, written by the pen of a master, in the Edinburgh Review, for the month of June in the year 1821, observes, that "the scenes in which Mr. Pitt acted so "conspicuous a part are fast vanishing from "the view,—thrown by others into the shade, "rather than obscured by distance."

Lord Thurlow also is said to have remarked that,—"Burke would be remembered after Pitt and Fox were forgotten *."

Both Pitt and Fox have, however, left some memorials of themselves, the remembrance and effects of which will certainly endure to the latest moments of the existence of Great Britain.

Mr. Pitt's resiling from the coalition,—his opposition to the India bill,—his consolidation

* The meaning of lord Thurlow is evident; but the same phrase was used by the late Mr. Porson, with a happy ambiguity. When Mr. Cumberland presented his poem, entitled "Calvary," to that gentleman, "Your poem," said Mr. Porson "will certainly be read, when Milton and Shakspeare are "forgotten."

Mr. Porson was not profuse of compliments—"Sir," said a gentleman to him, at the dinner of the Literary Fund Society, "I have the honour to present to you, Mr. Fitzge-"rald."—A dead silence.—"Sir, I have the honour to "present to you Mr. Fitzgerald, who recited the verses "which you have just heard."—A second dead silence.—"Sir, I have the honour to present to you Mr. Fitzgerald, "who himself composed the verses which you have just "heard."—"Sir," said Mr. Porson, "I am quite deaf."

of the customs,—his protection of the constitutional rights of the sovereign during his malady,—and his partial emancipation of the roman-catholics, will be mentioned in the pages of history with universal commendation; the Irish union, (which broke an injurious aristocracy, but, by encreasing its absentees, perpetuated the calamity of Ireland),—his sinking-fund,—and some other parts of his administration, will always have both advocates and detractors.—On the great disaster of his ministry,—the unsuccessful war,—which revealed to France the secret of her strength; to the other continental nations the secret of their weakness; to England, the distressing consequences which she now feels of her excessive, though perhaps necessary exertions,—public opinion, both at home and abroad, is said by many to have decided against him,—and, on the supposition that the war was necessary, in favour of Mr. Burke. But, it should not be forgotten, that, in recommending his own plan, Mr. Burke does not appear to have sufficiently attended to his own representations of the selfish temporizing views of the continental powers, on whose energetic and public-spirited co-operation, the success of it depended altogether: it may therefore be lamented that the pacific system recommended by Mr. Fox was not adopted. On this the admirers of Mr. Fox will ever dwell: they will observe that it is highly probable, that if that gentleman's peaceful system had been pursued,

Great Britain would now have been without a national debt, and the first in rank and power among the European states.—Lamenting the difficulty of defending his India bill, his coalition with lord North, his assertion of the prince's right to the regency, they will notice his unvarying exertions in favour of civil and religious liberty, and remark that, though from year to year, Mr. Pitt advocated, with the most splendid eloquence, the abolition of the slave-trade, applying both to its justice and its policy the strongest expressions of abhorrence and reprobation, he yet permitted his cabinet to vote for its continuance; but that Mr. Fox was scarcely seated in office, when the measure of abolition was instantaneously carried, as it were by acclamation.

But, on this, and even on the failure of Mr. Pitt's war projects, his advocates will not be without many plausible topics of defence. On the unavailing effusions of Mr. Pitt's eloquence for the abolition of the slave-trade, compared with the instantaneous abolition of it by Mr. Fox's administration, they will notice the difference between their cabinets; the former strenuously resisting, the latter as strenuously co-operating with the minister.—On the failure of Mr. Pitt's war-projects, they will suggest that it does not follow that, because the experiment

failed, it should not have been tried; that, because Mr. Fox's plans were the reverse of Mr. Pitt's, they were therefore wise and would have succeeded; or that, because Mr. Pitt's measures were not successful in all their parts, the general result of them was not highly beneficial to his country: They engaged us in a ruinous expenditure, and ended in a portentous territorial aggrandizement of France; but they saved our constitution, crushed the commercial and colonial strength of our rival, destroyed all the navies of Europe, secured to England the empire of the sea, and left her, at the end of the contest, in a state of power, influence and fame, unenjoyed by her in any former period:—Add to this, Mr. Pitt's advocates will also say, that the war with France was not volunteered by Mr. Pitt; it was forced upon him: this, they will contend, is demonstrated by Dr. Marsh, in his excellent "History of the Politics of Great "Britain and France, from the time of the con-"ference at Pilnitz, till the declaration of war "against Great Britain."

Thus the argument seems to have stood *at the close of the war:* A state of things, wholly new and unforeseen, has followed, and Great Britain is *now* in a condition of public and private exhaustion and distress, unequalled in the annals of her history. To what, is it owing?

It would be the extreme of presumption in the Reminiscent, to pretend to answer this question: the solution of it appears to baffle the wisest men.

It was the good fortune of the Reminiscent, to have the honour of spending a day *tête-à-tête* with Mr. Fox at St. Ann's Hill. The Reminiscent mentioned, what certainly was of no consequence, that "he had never read Adam "Smith's celebrated work on the Wealth of "Nations." "To tell you the truth," said Mr. Fox, "nor I either. There is something in "all these subjects, which passes my compre-"hension; something so wide, that I could "never embrace them myself, or find any one "who did."

"Peace to the strepent horn!"

SHENSTONE.

Is it not lawful to express a wish, that all discussions, which have a tendency to degrade either of these great men, should now be closed? that their failings should remain interred with their bones, and only the good of each remembered after him *? The talents and integrity of both are unimpeached; both loved their country, and both rendered her

* Anthony's Speech on Julius Cæsar.

essential services; both, in private life, were most amiable; there was nothing sordid in their hostility; the powers which they displayed did honour to England: and she has an interest in the brightness and permanence of their reputation: to establish the fame of either, it is not necessary to detract from that of the other; for both there was not room in the ministry;—but England is sufficiently large to hold the fame of both.

A view of Mr. Pitt's political life, written by the pen of a friend, and with great ability, may be seen in the critique of "Mr. Gifford's Life of "Pitt," inserted in the Quarterly Review for the month of August 1810. While the transactions, in which a great political character has been engaged, are yet recent, this is perhaps the best mode in which a view of his public life can be communicated: the events themselves are generally known; nothing, therefore, remains to be done but to clear up a few doubtful facts, and to lead the reader to form a proper judgment on the merits of the principal performer. This is done in a masterly manner, in the critique to which we have referred. Has Mr. Fox,—has Mr. Burke,—no surviving friend, who will do the same justice to his memory?

XII. 6.

The Holy Alliance.

WHO now pretends to foresee the consequences likely to result from this extraordinary event? Must not tyranny be its immediate consequence? But may it not be hoped that liberty will, sooner or later, follow?

During the Assyrian, Persian, Macedonian and Roman empires, the grand political division of the world was, into the states within the sway of those powerful empires, and the states beyond it. At the end of the fifth century of the christian era, by far the greater part of Europe was Roman; but, after the death of Trajan, the Romans ceased to be conquerors; and soon afterwards, the barbarians of the north and north-east began to invade their territories on every side, and to erect on their ruins a multitude of principalities, independent on each other, but united by the profession of a common religion, by a common regard for its interests, and by a common submission, in religious concerns, to the pope, as their common head. By degrees, Austria, France, Spain and England, became the European powers of the first order. The union of the imperial and Spanish crowns on the head of Charles the fifth, produced confederacies against

him. The French monarch was always at their head; and Europe thus became divided into two new parties, the Austrian and the French.

The reformation arrived: and then, according to Schiller*, "the interests of the European "states, which, till that time, had been national, "ceased to be such; and the interests of religion "formed a bond of union, among subjects of "different governments, who, till this time, "had been unknown to each other. A senti-"ment more powerful in the heart of man than "even the love of his country, rendered him "capable of perceptions and feelings which "reached beyond its limits: the French cal-"vinist found himself more in contact with a "calvinist in England, Germany, Holland, or "Geneva, than with a catholic in his own "country." This effected a new political division of Europe: France siding with the separatists from the church of Rome, and introducing to the aid of their common cause, the Ottoman power, became the real head of one

* Histoire de la Guerre de trente ans,—cited by M. de Bonald, in his interesting essay, "De l'Unité Religieuse dans "l'Europe;" inserted in the Ambigu of Peltier, No. cxxv.—This journal contains several other essays of Bonald, on subjects of literature and history, which show great learning, an excellent taste, and profound observation. See also "Les "véritables Auteurs de la Révolution de France de 1789," 8vo. Neufchatel, 1797.

party; Austria was the head of the other. But when, upon the abdication of Charles the fifth, his German were divided from his Spanish states, and the civil wars of France weakened her connections with the protestant powers and the Porte, Philip the second of Spain, and Elizabeth of England, became the conspicuous characters. Philip, with the aid of Bavaria, was the centre of the catholic system;—Elizabeth, with the United Provinces at her disposal, was at the head of the protestant. During this period, Germany, under the peaceable influence of Rudolph, took no part in the contest; but all the temporal, and, (which was of much greater consequence), all the spiritual power of Rome, co-operated with the Spaniard, and placed the pope in the van of the catholic array. Then, if Schiller's remarks be just, the protestants in every country subject to the Spanish sway, would be partizans of Elizabeth, and every catholic in the territories subject to her dominion or control, would be favourable to the designs of Philip and the pope.

Thus matters remained till the treaty of Westphalia: this considerably lessened the influence of religion on politics, and, from this time, in consequence of the general dissemination of the new philosophy, that influence rapidly declined. The French revolution followed and

changed the face of Europe; less, however, by the new demarcations of territory, though these were great, than by the introduction of new principles into them all, and the general exhaustion of Europe which the war occasioned. The new principles thus introduced are considered by the advocates for the ancient order of things as destructive of legitimate government, and on all occasions are, on this account, branded by them with the opprobrious appellation of illegitimacy.

In every country of Europe this legitimacy and illegitimacy have their respective advocates. All the sovereigns of Europe, all their ministers, all their dependents, and, generally speaking, all the wise and the moderate, are legitimates; too great a proportion of the middle and lower population favour illegitimacy: a bond of union subsists in every country between the partizans of each, and the governments of Austria and Russia are confessedly the heads of the former: —Thus the European world is again divided: the legitimates have formed what is termed the holy alliance, and the illegitimates are actively employed in raising a contre-confederacy.

What is to be the result?—"A man," to use an expression of Mr. Fox in the admirable opening of the introductory chapter of his history,—"must have great confidence in his

" own sagacity to venture to predict the con-
" sequence of an event at once new and mo-
" mentous." Is there not, however, evident reason to fear, that if the holy alliance do not dissolve in its own weakness, the conflict will be terrible?

When the negotiations at Lisle seemed to promise peace, a friend of the Reminiscent offered to Mr. Burke his congratulations upon this circumstance, as the probable termination of the revolution.—" The termination of the re-
" volution! to be sure!" exclaimed Mr. Burke:
" The revolution over! Why, Sir, it is not
" begun! As yet you have only heard the first
" music; you'll see the actors presently; but
" neither you nor I shall see the close of the
" drama."

XII. 7.

Lord Thurlow.

WE return to a view of the parliamentary history of our times.

Mr. Hume's *Essay on Eloquence* has been deservedly praised: but it appears to contain some passages which are open to observation.

He mentions that " there were about half a
" dozen speakers in the two houses, who, in the
" judgment of the public, had very near the
" same pitch of eloquence; and that no man

"pretended to give any one the preference "above the rest." This might be true when Mr. Hume wrote; but certainly has never been the case in our time. Beside Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, we had about a dozen speakers, as lord Mansfield, lord Camden, lord Thurlow, lord Loughborough, lord Ashburton, and lord Littleton, in the house of lords; and Mr. Dundas, colonel Barré, governor Johnson, Mr. Grey, Mr. Windham, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Sheridan, in the house of commons: all were eminent and distinguished speakers,—but no one thought of comparing any of them with Mr. Pitt or Mr. Fox. Those great rivals were allowed, by the universal voice of the British public, a splendid pre-eminence.

Perhaps the speakers next in eminence to these, were lord Thurlow, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Dundas, afterwards created lord Melville, and Mr. Grattan.

At times, *lord Thurlow* was superlatively great. It was the good fortune of the Reminiscent, to hear his celebrated reply to the duke of Grafton, during the inquiry into lord Sandwich's administration of Greenwich hospital. His grace's action and delivery, when he addressed the house, were singularly dignified and graceful; but his matter was not equal to his manner. He reproached lord Thurlow with

his plebeian extraction, and his recent admission into the peerage.—Particular circumstances caused lord Thurlow's reply to make a deep impression on the Reminiscent. His lordship had spoken too often, and began to be considered,—(to use the word of the day),—*a bore.* Under these circumstances, he was attacked in the manner we have mentioned. He rose from the woolsack, and advanced slowly to the place, from which the chancellor generally addresses the house; then, fixing on the duke a look of lowering indignation,—" I am amazed,"—he said, in a level tone of voice, " at the attack " which the noble duke has made on me. Yes, " my lords," considerably raising his voice, " I " am amazed at his grace's speech. The noble " duke cannot look before him, behind him, or " on either side of him, without seeing some " noble peer, who owes his seat in this house " to his successful exertions in the profession " to which I belong. Does he not feel that it " is as honourable to owe it to these, as to being " the accident of an accident?—To all these " noble lords, the language of the noble duke " is as applicable and as insulting as it is to " myself. But I don't fear to meet it single " and alone. No one venerates the peerage " more than I do,—but, my lords, I must say " that the peerage solicited me,—not I the

"peerage.—Nay more,—I can say and will "say, that, as a peer of parliament,—as "speaker of this right honourable house,—as "keeper of the great seal,—as guardian of his "majesty's conscience,—as lord high chancellor "of England,—nay, even in that character "alone, in which the noble duke would think "it an affront to be considered,—but which "character, none can deny *me*;—as a MAN, I "am at this moment as respectable;—I beg "leave to add,—I am at this time, as much re-"spected, as the proudest peer, I now look "down upon." The effect of this speech, both within the walls of parliament and out of them, was prodigious. It gave lord Thurlow an ascendency in the house, which no chancellor had ever possessed; it invested him in public opinion, with a character of independence and honour; and this, although he was ever on the unpopular side of politics, made him always popular with the people*.

On many other occasions, his lordship appeared to advantage; but, speaking generally, it was only on great occasions that he signalized himself. He was a kind of a guarda costa

* It was often mentioned, that, at the council board, he showed an equal mixture of waywardness and timidity. Mr. Pitt is reported to have said of him, that "he proposed "nothing, objected to every thing, and acquiesced in any "thing."

vessel, which cannot meet every turning and winding of a frigate that assails her; but, when the opportunity offers, pours a broad-side which seldom fails of sinking the assailant.

His lordship, however, possessed a weapon, which he often brought into action with great skill and effect. He would appear to be ignorant upon the subject in debate, and, with affected respect, but visible derision, to seek for information upon it, pointing out with a kind of dry solemn humour, contradictions and absurdities, which he professed his own apparent inability to explain, and calling on his adversaries for their explanation. It was a kind of masked battery, of the most searching questions and distressing observations; it often discomfited his adversary, and seldom failed to force him into a very embarrassing position of defence.

It is remarkable that, though both lord Mansfield and lord Thurlow spoke most slowly and deliberately, yet their periods were strangely confused, and often ungrammatical; while *lord Ashburton*, whose volubility was marvellous, and was the despair of short-hand writers, never offended against grammar: his periods, though often quaint and apparently involved in endless parentheses, were uncommonly neat and perspicuous; and, what is of so much consequence to an orator, gave him an appearance of speaking

without preparation, and from the feelings of the moment.—Something of this was observable in Mr. Pitt's speeches; his long amplifications, with his savings and reserves, frequently made his hearers think him involved in an inextricable labyrinth; but light was sure to break in, to irradiate all he had said, and to lead to the brightest close.—There never was a moment in which Mr. Fox was, either intentionally or unintentionally, obscure. This certainly speaks a volume in his praise.

XII. 8.

Mr. Sheridan—Mr. Dundas.

STRANGE as it may appear, it nevertheless is true, that common sense and dignity were possessed by *Mr. Sheridan* in an extraordinary degree; but they were so counteracted by habitual procrastination and irregularity, that he was scarcely known to possess them. He had very little information;—had even little classical learning;—but the powers of his mind were very great. He had a happy vein of ridicule,—he could, however, rise to the serious and the severe;—and then his style of speaking was magnificent; but even in his happiest effusions, he had too much of prettiness.

He objected to the coalition, to Mr. Fox's secession from parliament, to his strong language

in favour of the French revolution, and predicted, as is said, the disastrous consequences of his India bill; still, he uniformly adhered to Mr. Fox, and supported his politics. He required great preparation for the display of his talents: hence he was not a debater,—one, who attacks and defends on every occasion that calls him forth. It is observable that, of this kind of oratory, antiquity has left us no specimen; and that in modern Europe it has not existed out of England. Lord North, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Fox, excelled in it: the first, perhaps, surpassed the two others in this useful, it may, perhaps, be called,—*most* useful species of oratory. But, though Mr. Sheridan was no debater, he was sometimes most felicitous in an epigrammatic reply.

Mr. Dundas had not those occasional displays, which raised Mr. Sheridan so high in public estimation;—but he went out in all weathers, was always able, and often triumphant. His Scottish accent was very strong, and, on the whole, rather served than injured his oratory.

XII. 9.

Mr. Grattan.

NATURE denied to *Mr. Grattan* many of the most important qualifications of an orator, and

his taste was not that of Cicero; but she gave him genius and industry. The consequence was, that he was generally thought to be the first of the second class of orators in our time. His speech in 1810 in favour of catholic emancipation may be considered as a complete specimen of his peculiar style of oratory. It presents, as the writer has observed on another occasion, an union of eloquence, imagery and philosophy, which is rarely found in any composition. Nothing can show more strongly than a comparison between Mr. Grattan and his imitators, the vast space which is ever discernible between a man of real genius, philosophy and business, and a mere artist in language.

At the end of May 1820, Mr. Grattan came, *for the last time* to London:—On the first day of the following June, the writer of these pages called upon him; and, being informed that he was extremely ill, was retiring, without having seen him; but Mr. Grattan, having heard that he was in the house, sent for him. It was evident that he touched the moment of his dissolution:—but the ethereal vigour of his mind was unsubdued, and his zeal for the catholic cause, unabated. He pressed the writer by the hand: —"It is," he said, "all over!—Yes,—all over! "—but I will die in the cause.—I mean to be

" carried to the house of commons to-morrow:
" —to beg leave of the speaker to take the oaths
" sitting,--and then, to move two resolutions."
These he mentioned to the writer; but spoke so indistinctly, that the writer could only perceive generally, that they were substantially the same as the clauses which he had prefixed to the bill, which, in 1812, he brought into parliament for the relief of the catholics. He again pressed the writer by the hand, repeated the intention of being carried to the house, and desired the writer to attend him to it:—But—he died in the ensuing night!

He was buried in Westminster abbey:—his funeral was most honourably attended: the charity boys of all the catholic schools in London were present, and behaved with a seriousness which affected every beholder.

As a public orator, Mr. Grattan was equalled by very few;—in public or private virtue, he was surpassed by none. He reflected honour on the country which gave him birth: in the parliament of Ireland he had but one rival: the parliament of the united empire felt that he added to its lustre, and admired, respected and loved him.

XIII.

MISCELLANEOUS REFLECTIONS ON PARLIAMENTARY ORATORY.

1. MR. HUME speaks "*of the indifference* "*of the public to public oratory.*" Since the writer has known parliament, the case has been very different. The galleries of the house of commons have always been overfilled at an early hour. On great occasions, all the seats have been occupied five, six, or seven hours before the commencement of the debate. The rush to obtain places at the first commemoration of Handel, when all London seemed to pour into Westminster abbey, was not equal to the rush into Westminster-hall, on the day in which Mr. Sheridan brought his charges against Mr. Hastings.

2. Mr. Hume "*compares the sublimity of* "*ancient eloquence with the temper of modern.*" He cites the famous oath of Demosthenes,—in which he swears by the manes of those who fell at Marathon and Platæa; and the tragical terms in which Cicero describes the crucifixion of a Roman citizen by the order of Verres.

With respect to the passage in Demosthenes, is it not quite certain that it would have been

both endured and applauded in the house of commons? Towards the close of the American war, lord North was exactly in the situation in which Demosthenes found himself, after the defeat of the Athenians at Cheronæa, and might have used for his defence an oath not less bold than that of the Grecian orator. Have there not been moments, in the house of commons, when Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox might, in some parts of their speeches, have hazarded, with success, still bolder figures, still bolder appeals to the imagination, still bolder addresses to the passions of their hearers? A want of these appeals, of these bold figures and apostrophes, may be thought to give the speeches of the Greek and Roman orators a superiority over those of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox: but surely those daring flights of oratory would be well received by the house, and attended with the greatest effect.

As to the passage from Cicero, to which Mr. Hume refers, does it not admit of doubt, whether it be not rather Asiatic than Attic?—Is it superior,—is it even equal to Mr. Burke's description of the irruption of Hyder Ali into the Carnatic?

"When at length Hyder Ali found that he had to do with "men who either would sign no convention, or whom no

" treaty, and no signature could bind, and who were the de-
" termined enemies of human intercourse itself, he decreed to
" make the country possessed by these incorrigible and pre-
" destinated criminals a memorable example to mankind. He
" resolved, in the gloomy recesses of a mind capacious of
" such things, to leave the whole Carnatic an everlasting
" monument of vengeance; and to put perpetual desolation
" as a barrier between him and those against whom the faith
" which holds the moral elements of the world together was
" no protection. He became at length so confident of his
" force, so collected in his might, that he made no secret
" whatsoever of his dreadful resolution. Having terminated
" his disputes with every enemy, and every rival, who buried
" their mutual animosities in their common detestation
" against the creditors of the nabob of Arcot, he drew from
" every quarter, whatever a savage ferocity could add to his
" new rudiments in the arts of destruction; and compounding
" all the materials of fury, havoc, and desolation, into one
" black cloud, he hung for a while on the declivities of the
" mountains. Whilst the authors of all these evils were
" idly and stupidly gazing on this menacing meteor, which
" blackened all their horizon, it suddenly burst, and poured
" down the whole of its contents upon the plains of the Car-
" natic. Then ensued a scene of woe, the like of which no
" eye had seen, no heart conceived, and which no tongue can
" adequately tell. All the horrors of war before known or
" heard of, were mercy to that new havoc. A storm of uni-
" versal fire blasted every field, consumed every house, de-
" stroyed every temple. The miserable inhabitants flying
" from their flaming villages, in part were slaughtered;
" others, without regard to sex, to age, to the respect of rank,
" or sacredness of function; fathers torn from children,
" husbands from wives, enveloped in a whirlwind of cavalry,
" and amidst the goading spears of drivers, and the trampling

" of pursuing horses, were swept into captivity, in an un-
" known and hostile land. Those who were able to evade
" this tempest, fled to the walled cities. But escaping from
" fire, sword, and exile, they fell into the jaws of famine.

" For eighteen months, without intermission, this destruc-
" tion raged from the gates of Madras to the gates of Tan-
" jore; and so completely did these masters in their art,
" Hyder Ali and his more ferocious son, absolve themselves
" of their impious vow, that when the British armies tra-
" versed, as they did the Carnatic for hundreds of miles in all
" directions, through the whole line of their march, they did
" not see one man, not one woman, not one child, not one
" four-footed beast of any description whatever. One dead
" uniform silence reigned over the whole region."

3. Mr. Hume mentions in high terms "*the "correct taste of an Athenian audience;*" it seems to have deserved this praise. The Roman audience was its inferior. Many among the senators were elegant, enlightened, and well-informed; but, taking into consideration the single article of the diffusion of knowledge, through the medium of the daily and monthly presses, it is evident that the number of these could bear no proportion to the number of such men in the parliament of England:—and that the English audience is, if the expression may be used, infinitely superior to the Roman. The proportion in the general body of the Roman people, between the well-instructed and the rude and absolutely uncultivated, was certainly very small. What must one think of an au-

dience for whom such a laboured period as the "*est enim hæc non scripta sed nata lex*" was necessary, to convince them that homicide in self-defence is justifiable?

The British house of commons is perhaps the best audience ever assembled for a fair trial of eloquence. It possesses, far beyond any audience ancient or modern, a surprising union of great general information, with the feelings of a popular assembly; due allowance to high birth and enormous wealth; great benignity, great patience, when it is not too much tried; a just, a fine, and a quick sense of propriety*; fasti-

* Louis the eighteenth observed to a friend of the Reminiscent that "he had travelled much, but had never met "with a people that had the taste of John Bull."

In the justness of this observation an Englishman will readily acquiesce: he may confidently ask, if the truth of it do not incontestibly appear in the behaviour of the English to one another, at those festive meetings, where all ranks meet, and equality is the order of the day. There the truest nature of this momentary level is so exquisitely felt, that no rank outsteps the just but indescribable and almost imperceptible line, which good sense and propriety lay down.

One of the most humourous narratives which the Reminiscent has heard, was an account given by the late duke de Bouillon, who towards the year 1780 resided long in this country, of an attempt, which he made under the ancient regime, to establish a beef-steak club at Paris; the bows and simpers of the aristocrats, the giggling and gesticulations of the musical guests, and the gabble of all: —"Enfin," said the duke, "je demande un chanson;

dious, it is true, but still assigning to every one his just measure, and something beyond his just measure of merit. It is idle to say that a single vote is seldom gained by a speech in the house of commons;—no speech has been made in the writer's memory, which was not attended with its due proportion of effect. Mr. Peel's speech in 1813 against catholic emancipation did not, perhaps, gain to ministers a single vote,—but no reply being then made to it, the house adjourned with an impression, that his argument against catholic emancipation was very strong, and had not been answered. A greater effect it could not have produced. Compared with it, a division of ten more votes in favour of the minister, would have been trifling.—No one admired this speech or lamented its effects more than the writer.

But,—in the course of the last debates on the catholic petition,—(1821)—the Reminiscent had the unspeakable pleasure of witnessing the complete annihilation of this justly celebrated oration. Mr. Plunkett in a speech, which, by the universal testimony of all who heard it, has been seldom equalled, raised the

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" j'attendais la voix étounante de M. Bannister;—voilà un " homme qui commençe à psalmodier,—*Amour !—Amour !* " —je ne pouvais plus, je bouche les oreilles, et je m'es- " quive."

question of catholic emancipation, to an height far above the reach either of the arguments or the eloquence of its adversaries: there he placed it, and held the temple *.

* " *Templumque tenebit,*" (Georgic. III. 16).

The Reminiscent here begs leave to suggest an observation which has frequently occurred to him, in perusing the beginning of the second book of the Georgics, and which leads him to suspect that some verses in it have been transposed.

In the three first lines of this book, Virgil proposes his subject,

" *Hactenus arvorum cultus, et sidera cœli ;*
" *Nunc te Bacche canam, nec non silvestria tecum*
" *Virgulta, et prolem tardè crescentis olivæ.*

The five verses following contain an invocation to Bacchus, the founder, if he may be so called, of the poet's theme:—

" *Huc pater, O Lenæe ! tuis hic omnia plena*
" *Muneribus ; tibi pampineo gravidus auctumno*
" *Foret ager, spumat plenis vindemia labris :*
" *Huc pater, O Lenæe veni ; nudataque musto*
" *Tinge novo mecum dereptis crura cothurnis.*

This brings the poet to the ninth verse.

There he enters upon his subject; and treats it in a simple and didactic style, till the thirty-ninth, when, quite on a sudden, and without any connection with what precedes or follows, he apostrophizes his great patron;

" *Tuque ades, inceptumque unà decurre laborem,*
" *O decus, O famæ merito pars maxima nostræ,*
" *Mæcenas, pelagoque volans da vela patenti.*
" *Non ego cuncta meis amplecti versibus opto ;*

" *Non mihi, si linguæ centum sint, oraque centum.*
" *Ferrea vox:—ades et primi lege littoris oram.*
" *In manibus terræ; non hic te carmine ficto*
" *Atque per ambages et longa exorsa tenebo.*"

The poet then returns to the didactic strain.

Now,—is there not some reason to suppose, that the whole of this apostrophe is transposed; and should have immediately followed the invocation of Bacchus? Is not this more natural? Do not the verses, as they now stand, interrupt the flow of the passage?

This conjecture appears to be countenanced in some measure, by the beginning of the first Georgic. There, immediately after the invocation of the deities, Cæsar is apostrophized,—and the didactic strain is then, for the first time assumed.

In the third Georgic also, the Reminiscent suspects that the text has been tampered with. He requests his readers to peruse from the forty-eighth to the one hundred and twenty-third verse, and then consider whether the three last verses in the passage,

" *Quamvis sæpe fugâ versos ille egent hostes,*
" *Et patriam Epirum referat fortisque Mycenas,*
" *Neptunique ipsâ deducat origine gentem,*"

be not spurious, or should not be interpolated between the sixty-second and sixty-third verses. The Reminiscent would ask, to what, if they are not thus interpolated, the word *quamvis* can be referred?

XIV.

HORÆ BIBLICÆ.

THE Horæ Biblicæ was the next publication of the Reminiscent. It is divided into two parts; the first contains "an historical and "literary account of the original text, early "versions and printed editions of the Old and "New Testament; or the sacred books of the "Jews and Christians:"—The second contains "an historical and literary account of the Koran, "Zend-Avesta, Kings, and Edda; or the works "accounted sacred by the Mahometans, the "Parsees, the Hindûs, the Chinese, and the "Scandinavian nations."

1. The composition of the first part of these publications afforded the Reminiscent great pleasure. Every thing on the subject of it was new to him, was curious, was interesting and was instructive.

It unfolded to him something of the mystery of collating manuscripts, and of the relative value of various readings; and it occasionally led him to many other new sources of literary amusement and information:—all tending to impress upon him a just notion of the text of the sacred writings. His occupations did not

enable him to extend his inquiries far into the text of the Old Testament: and the little, which he has said upon it, in the work in question, renders it, in this respect, imperfect.

We owe the first of the Greek printed editions of the New Testament, to *Erasmus*; his edition was successively followed by those of *Robert Stephens*, *Beza*, and the *Elzevirs*. By the last of these, the text, which had fluctuated in the preceding editions, acquired a consistency; and, being generally followed in all the subsequent editions, this edition became the received exemplar of the text: it is remarkable that the editor of it is unknown.

In 1707, the celebrated edition of the *reverend Dr John Mill* was published at Oxford: he inserted in it all the collections of various readings, which had been published before his time; and collated several manuscripts, which had not been previously collated: the whole of the various readings collected by him is said, without any improbability, to amount to 30,000. His edition was followed by those of *Bengel and Wetstein*. The last is particularly important on account of the mass of rabbinical matter, which is contained in the annotations, and which serves to explain, in numerous instances, the hebraizing expressions and allusions of the text: it is a kind of perpetual com-

mentary, replete with learning at once recondite and useful. This edition has in other respects been, in some measure, superseded by the less bulky edition of *Griesbach*. From this, *Dr. White* has formed his *Diatesseron*, or four gospels in one; an excellent work, and likely to become the school-book of every place of education, catholic or protestant, in Europe, where the Greek language is taught. *Mr. Thirlwall* has framed a translation of it, from the authorized version of the established church of England: it is to be wished that the English catholics were furnished with a similar translation, from the version of the New Testament by Dr. Challoner. It should, however, be observed, that they already possess a publication, which resembles it, in the "*Four Gospels in One*," by *Mr. Austin*, the author of the celebrated work intituled, "*Devotions in the Form of Ancient Offices**."

Such an arrangement of the gospels presents a life of Christ;—but when the language of any version, which adheres, literally, or nearly literally, to the text, is adopted, it must contain many passages unintelligible to general readers. On this account, the Reminiscent has sometimes thought, that such a version, as would exhibit the sense of the text, in the genuine

* Noticed in the Historical Memoirs, vol. i. ch. 45. sec. 4.

English idiom; would be an invaluable acquisition to the generality of English readers.

Dr. Clarke's Paraphrase of the New Testament is of this nature, and is highly valuable: It has been said, that he composed it when he was in his seventeenth year;—a wonderful instance, if true, of early endowment. It certainly was written before he veered to Arianism. It is too prolix, and the phrases are often uncouth and low. *Father Berruyér's History of the New Testament* appears to the Reminiscent the best life of Christ, which has fallen in his way: but to this also, prolixity is justly objected: it has also been said to contain some theological errors; but the Reminiscent suspects that it requires a theological microscope of no ordinary power to discover them. The most popular life of Christ, in the catholic portion of the continent, was that written by *Father Bernardin de Montreuil, of the Society of Jesus.*

A view of the collations, which we have noticed, has confirmed, in the Reminiscent, a notion, which his long exercise of the professional duty of instruction has repeatedly suggested to him,—that persons of lively parts and elegant attainments, are at least as capable of dry, minute and persevering application, as persons of a phlegmatic disposition. Mill, Wetstein, and Griesbach evidently possessed taste, ge-

nius, polite literature, and great mental ardour. Wetstein was remarkably impetuous: yet what a length of unremitted toil in one of the most irksome of all literary employments is exhibited by the collations of all these editors!

The Reminiscent returns to the *Horæ Biblicæ*.

The first part of them,—that which is employed on the New Testament,—was written by the author, not to edify the public, but to instruct himself. Having sat down to a deliberate perusal of the New Testament, he found that passages, which he did not understand, occurred incessantly; and he soon perceived that their obscurity arose from the idiom of the language, in which they are expressed; the words of it being Greek, the phraseology Hebraic. To conquer this difficulty, he began the study of the Hebrew language, under the direction of the rabbi Uzzielli: but his proficiency was limited to a tolerable knowledge of its grammar, (including the curious system of the vowel points), and to some knowledge of its syntax. Slender and very slender as this acquisition certainly is, he found it of the greatest use, and, with the assistance of the excellent Lexicons of Schleusner and Biel, the mass of biblical learning in Wetstein's Annotations, and the excellent observations of Dr. Macknight in the fourth preliminary essay prefixed by him to

his "Translation of the Apostolical Epistles," he endeavoured to obtain a decent knowledge of the sacred text of the New Testament. He confined his study of the Old to the Psalms: but could never conquer the obscurity of a multitude of passages in them. That they abound with strains of exquisite piety and excellent instruction, is most clear: yet it appears doubtful to the Reminiscent, whether they are a proper book of devotion for the generality of the uninformed laity.

The first part of the Horæ Biblicæ originally consisted of nothing more than minutes made by the writer for his private use, and without the slightest view to publication; it afterwards occurred to him, that they might, without much difficulty, be arranged in a degree of order. In that state, they were seen by some biblical scholars, and these encouraged the publication of the manuscript.

A private edition of it was distributed by him among his friends, and by these, among several biblicists of distinction. It obtained for him many valuable communications from Dr. Winstanley, and the Reminiscent's learned friend, who now illustrates the see of Peterborough. Availing himself of these, he was enabled to present his work to the public in a less imperfect

form. Such as it is, it has been favourably received, and is now in its fifth edition. It has been translated into the French language.

2. *The second part* of the Horæ Biblicæ, is a sequel to the first; and gives a succinct view of the books accounted sacred by other eastern nations. It may be thought to possess some value, as it brings together many curious facts respecting the oriental creeds, which are not generally known, and which lie widely scattered: it is now in its fourth edition. The writer received considerable assistance, in the part relating to the Edda, from Mr. Pinkerton, and in the part respecting the Zend-Avesta, from sir William Ousley. Since the publication of it, much useful information has been communicated to the public respecting the sacred and profane literature of the Hindus, by Mr. Colebrooke, Mr. Stracey, and other Hindustanee scholars: the writer apprehends that they have rather confirmed than impeached his humble pages.

It has sometimes occurred to him that a young gentleman of fortune, talents and mental energy, could not employ them better, than by placing himself in Benares, and thence making excursions over all the adjacent parts of central Asia, to discover the remains of its ancient arts, science and literature. It is probable that so laudable

a pursuit would be rewarded with the richest spoil.

Two tracts are added to the second part of the Horæ Biblicæ :—One, *A Dissertation on a supposed general Council of Jews, held at Ageda in Germany, in* 1650 :—the other, *An Historical Account of the Controversy respecting the* 1 *John, ch.* 5, *v.* 7,—*commonly called the verse of the Three Heavenly Witnesses.* The Reminiscent believes he has shown the fabulousness of the council,—and given an impartial account of the controversy. The arguments against the authenticity of the verse are very strong ; but the admission of it into the confession of faith presented by the catholic bishops to Hunneric, the Vandal king, is an argument of weight in its favour. The statement of it by the Reminiscent, was allowed by Mr. Porson, the late learned adversary of the verse, to deserve attention : he promised the writer to reply to them.

XV.

SUCCINCT HISTORY OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE—FRENCH REVOLUTION.

IN 1806, when the emperor of Austria publicly renounced the empire of Germany, a question arose in the Pavilion at Brighton, on the territorial extent of the country which the emperor renounced, and the territorial extent of that which he retained. This led the Reminiscent to investigations, which insensibly produced his "*Succinct History of the geographical "and political revolutions of the empire of Ger-"many, or the principal states, which composed "the empire of Charlemagne, from his corona-"tion in 800, to its dissolution in 1806, with "some account of the Imperial House of Haps-"burgh and of the Six Secular Electors of Ger-"many; and of Roman, German, French and "English Nobility.*"

The composition of this work involved the Reminiscent in the abyss of German and Italian genealogists; but his grand resource was *Anderson's Genealogical Tables*;—a work of the most profound and extensive erudition. A new edition of it, corrected, enlarged, and brought

down to the present time, would be an invaluable present to the literati of every nation: but such a work is too expensive to be printed, otherwise than by a large subscription. On a recent inquiry the writer found that Anderson's literary collections were still in existence.

Another work, which the writer found of the greatest use in framing this historical compilation, is, "*Tableau des Revolutions de l'Europe, par M. Koch*," the last edition of which is in four volumes: he begs leave to recommend it strongly to all his readers.

The writer attempted to give, in his Revolutions of the German empire, a succinct view of the Roman, German and French nobility. An arduous task!—he was assisted in it by M. de Bourblanc, the attorney-general in the parliament of Rennes, one of the many emigrants, who edified this country by their persevering loyalty and dignified patience, under their severe and long-protracted trial. This work is in its third edition; it may be found useful in enabling persons to obtain a general knowledge of the states, which were formed out of the empire of Charlemagne: or the states of which the continent of modern Europe is composed. The Reminiscent has given in it, what he believes every writer of the present time has given in some part or other of his works, his

own notions of the causes and probable effects of the French Revolution.

There does not perhaps exist any history of it so well written as the accounts of it in the "Annual Register," printed for the proprietors of Dodsley's publication with that title. It is greatly to be wished that these parts of it were published separately. We extract from the volume for the year 1793, the following account of the civil and military proceedings of the French Directory: the pleasure, which we are sure our readers will find in the perusal of it, will, we trust, be thought by them a sufficient apology for its insertion.

"No political assembly recorded in history "ever did much greater or worse things, than "the national convention. As it consisted of "men, chosen by a populous nation, it partook "of the dispositions that characterized the va- "rious partizans of the people of France; of "the fire and impetuosity of temper, that mark "the inhabitants of the southern provinces, and "the pertinacity and unyieldingness of mind, "that are usually found in those of the northern "parts. But that, which will eternize the me- "mory of this famous assembly, is the undaunted "audacity with which it shook off those ideas, "that, implanted by education, and confirmed "by the habit of years, remain so obstinately

" fixed in the human mind. Monarchy and
" catholicism, the two favourite objects of the
" French nation, sanctioned by the attachment
" and veneration of centuries, began to totter
" the very first moment of their meeting, and
" were completely overthrown, as soon as they
" attempted to regain their preponderance; so
" entirely had these artful and enterprizing men
" obtained the confidence and prepossession of
" the multitude. When they had new moulded
" the public mind according to their own form,
" they conceived the vast prospect of extending
" the same influence over their neighbours;
" and they succeeded beyond their own expec-
" tations, and even beyond the fears of their
" enemies. They did, for the grandeur of
" France, more than had been done in its
" most triumphant periods, and more than
" had ever been done for a country by its most
" victorious rulers. They did those things,
" through means not heretofore imagined.—
" All was new and unprecedented in their
" hands; they created, as it were, the very
" materials with which so many stupendous
" deeds were performed: their statesmen, their
" generals, their soldiers, were of their own
" formation. When they began the execution
" of the vast plans they had formed, they had
" the whole world to encounter; all kings, all

" states, all nations, were at once their declared,
" and, as they menaced destruction to every
" establishment but their own, their necessary
" enemies. What rendered their actions pe-
" culiarly striking and marvellous, the actors,
" in those astonishing scenes, were men wholly
" unknown to their own country, before they
" assumed the reins of government: they were
" not conspicuous either by birth, station or
" riches: their consequence was innate, and
" called forth by a singularity of events, with-
" out which it must have remained in that ob-
" scurity, which is the attendant of all those
" talents, however great, that are not brought
" forth by great occasions. No assembly ever
" displayed a more astonishing mixture of
" shining qualities and of atrocious vices. Am-
" bitious, cruel, unprincipled, are epithets in-
" adequate to convey an apposite idea of their
" enormities. They were true to their character
" from the very beginning; overturning with-
" out scruple or remorse, whatever stood in
" their way, and compassing their ends, with-
" out ever adverting to the rectitude or moral
" impropriety, or turpitude of the means em-
" ployed. The only qualifications, on which
" they seemed to set a substantial value, were
" courage and capacity, boldness and expe-
" dition. These, divested of all virtuous or

" sentimental feelings, appear to have been the " real attributes of those extraordinary, but not " respectable names, that continued for three " years to keep all Europe in unceasing alarms; " that made kings tremble on their thrones; that " progressively overcame all their enemies; that " changed the face of all Christendom in some " of the most essential respects; that introduced " systems, which, if through the hand of power " they may be repressed, will never be eradi- " cated: *that founded, in short, an epoch, from* " *which may be dated events, that are only begin-* " *ning to unfold themselves, and the ultimate issue* " *of which, it is not within the compass of the pro-* " *foundest politics to ascertain; but which will,* " *probably, if not certainly, be felt in the remotest* " *ages to come.*"

The event in history, which bears the nearest resemblance to the scene we have just described, is the first extension of Mahometanism. In each may be found the same zeal to propagate the tenets of the sect, the same thirst of plunder, the same ardour of destruction, the same enthusiasm, and the same patient and adventurous courage: in each, instead of waiting like the Romans to subdue one enemy before another was provoked, an attack was made, almost in one instant, on the greatest part of the civilized world: in neither, the dissensions of the chiefs

retarded for a moment the progress of the soldiers. When we read Abu Becr's circular letter,—"In the name of God,—To all true be-"lievers: This is to acquaint you, that I intend "to send the true believers into Syria to take "it from the hands of the infidels,"—it is impossible not to think of the great nation sending forth her *sans-culottes* to plant the tree of liberty: or of Napoleon informing Rome and Naples that "their sovereigns were no more."

Napoleon is, however, the great figure in the revolution. The battle of Wagram raised him to the highest pitch of glory, which Providence has ever permitted an individual to attain. The military exploits of Zengis, Tamerlane, Aurengzebe, and other eastern conquerors, carried their victories over a much larger portion of the globe; Trajan and Charlemagne reigned over more ample territories; and the geographical size of the kingdoms subject to Napoleon, was far inferior to the size of those over which the autocrat of Russia sways his sceptre: but, if we consider what constitutes the real strength and splendour of a state, its civilization, power, wealth, energy, and particularly the intellectual stock of its subjects, all empires which have hitherto been subject to one man, incontestibly yield to that of Napoleon.

The reader probably remembers the *sans-*

culottic exhibitions, equally ridiculous and disgusting, of the Goddess of Reason, and the uncatholicizing of the calendar.—These had been foreseen: when the first stone of the magnificent church of St. Génévière at Paris, (not yet completed), was laying, the following verses and translation of them were circulated:

" *Templum augustum, ingens, regina assurgit in urbe;*
" *Urbe, et patronâ virgine, digna domus.*
" *Tarda nimis pietas! Vanos moliris honores!*
" *Non sunt hæc cœptis tempora digna tuis.*
" *Ante Deo in summâ quam templum extruxeris urbe,*
" *Impietas templis tollet et urbe Deum.*

" *Paris! sur ta montagne un saint temple s'élève;*
" *Temple, digne de toi, digne de sainte Génévière.*
" *Tardive piété! d'un vain zéle saisi,*
" *Paris! pour ce projet quel temps as tu choisi!*
" *Avant que pour ton Dieu, ce monument s'achéve,*
" *L'impiété chez toi, dominant en tout lieu,*
" *Des temples, de tes murs aura chassé ton Dieu.*"

XVII.

CONFESSIONS OF FAITH.

IT has been observed invidiously of the writer, that in all his publications, whatever may have been the subject of them, he has always had in view the interest of the catholic cause.

He pleads guilty to the charge;—he unequivocally admits that *some* of his works were written with no other view; and that in *all*, he kept his attention directed towards this object, so far, that he never omitted to avail himself of any opportunity which his subject afforded, either of bringing forward a topic that redounded to the honour of the catholic church, or of defending her against charges, which he thought unfounded or exaggerated.

With these views he published his "Historical and Literary Account of the Formularies "or Confessions of Faith, or symbolic Books of "the Roman-catholic, Greek, and principal Protestant Churches," 8vo.

Various circumstances rendered it of importance to the Reminiscent, to obtain an accurate notion of the creeds of the principal churches, which, during the century that fol-

lowed the reformation, separated themselves from the church of Rome. The continent abounds with works, of every size, which contain historical documents of this description; but the writer is not aware that such a work has yet appeared in England. Whether his own attempt be successfully executed the readers of it must determine. He believes it to be written with moderation, and that it was preceded by adequate researches.

He added to it "Four Dissertations;" a short mention of them now follows.

XVII.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE MONASTIC ORDERS OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.

THIS was the title and subject of the first of the four dissertations, which the Reminiscent annexed to his "Confessions of Faith." In his early years, he had seen much of religious orders, and felt for them a respect which never quitted him. Speaking generally, the lives of all were blameless; it is universally allowed that among their members many were eminently useful. Had he been indulged in an inclination early conceived and long persisted in, he himself might, perhaps, have been aggregated to one of them: it is difficult for a person, who has inclinations towards piety and study, to behold indifferent and unmoved establishments so excellently calculated for both. The Reminiscent has mentioned in several parts of his Historical Memoirs, the services which they rendered to religion, literature, and society in general, during the middle ages.

In the same work, and in another, afterwards noticed in these pages, he has given some account of *the Society of Jesus*. It has been said that he has painted them *en beau*:—Be it so,—

still, as they have been so often painted *en noir*, to exhibit for once the fair side of their character was but an act of justice. But the Reminiscent is not sensible that he has exaggerated their praise: most certainly, what he said was dictated neither by partiality or interest. No one can be more independent of the order, less connected with it or its members, or have fewer calls to advocate their cause: but,

"Pleased to spread friendships and to cover heats."
POPE.

he had great pleasure in writing their eulogy:—besides,—he felt in the task a pleasing tribute to the memory of sir Alexander Strachan, a distinguished member of the order,—the friend, the instructor of his youth, and never out of his remembrance.

Surely no one, who professes to be a friend of religious liberty, can, consistently with his professed principles, persecute the jesuits, or interfere with their religious observances. But real and enlightened friends, either of civil or of religious liberty, are not so common, as the general profession of friendship to both would render probable. This Mr. Fox observed to the Reminiscent; "but," he said, "you may "always depend on Fitzwilliam and Petty."

XVIII.

ESSAY ON THE DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH OF ROME RESPECTING THE GENERAL PERUSAL OF THE SCRIPTURES IN THE VULGAR TONGUE BY THE LAITY.

THIS publication was owing to certain harsh pamphlets, published about the time when it made its appearance, in which the principles and practice of the catholics in this article of the discipline of their church had been greatly misrepresented,—their restrictions on the perusal of the bible immoderately exaggerated; and some violent but groundless attacks made on a society of catholics then engaged in the publication of a new edition of Dr. Challoner's version of the New Testament, and of books of devotion for the use of poor catholics.

This leads to a consideration of the bible societies: a difference of opinion respecting them is known to prevail; but much of it seems to depend on the manner in which the question on their merit is stated. If it be asked, whether christianity is best taught to a child, or to persons generally uneducated, by a good catechism and good instruction; or by the mere perusal of

the bible, without either? it must, in the opinion of the Reminiscent, be answered,—by the catechism and instruction.

He presumes, *absit invidia verbo*,—to assert, that, taking a protestant boy of the age of ten years, who has read the bible, in the manner in which it is usually read before that age in England, and a catholic boy of the same age, who has been taught the French catechism, and particularly *Fleury's Historical Catechism*, in the manner in which these were usually taught in France, the latter will be found to have a fuller and a clearer knowledge of the history, the morality, and the religion of the Old and New Testaments than the former. On the other hand, if it be asked, whether, in cases where a bible can be procured, but no other instruction can be obtained, it is better that children and persons uneducated should have than be without the bible,—does it not appear quite monstrous to say, that the bible should be withheld from them? These are extreme cases,—the application of them to the *mesne* is not very difficult.

In the writer's humble opinion, wherever full catechetical and other proper instruction is given, the circulation of the bible in the vernacular language, among the uninformed laity, is not to be encouraged; but, in the absence of other in-

struction, the circulation of such a bible is very desirable. Some things in the sacred volume are hard to be understood; but it contains a multitude that edify, that instruct, that inculcate true morality, that excite true devotion.

In a rescript addressed by his holiness Pius the seventh, to the vicars apostolic of Great Britain, dated the 8th of April 1820, his holiness exhorts them to take care that "the faithful abstain from reading the wicked books, in "which, in these calamitous times, our religion "is worthlessly attacked from all sides; and "that they should be strengthened in faith and "good works, by the reading of pious books, "and particularly the holy scriptures, in editions approved by the church;—you preceding them by word and example."—"Ut à perversorum librorum lectione, quibus calamitosissimis hisce temporibus sancta nostra religio undique impetitur, abstineant; ut piorum librorum, præsertim sacrarum scripturarum lectione, in editionibus ab ecclesiâ approbatis, in fide et in bonis operibus, vobis verbo et exemplo præeuntibus, confortentur."

XIX.

ON THE WORK INTITULED "ROMAN CATHOLIC "PRINCIPLES IN REFERENCE TO GOD AND "THE KING, PUBLISHED IN 1680."

THIS work has always been considered by learned and impartial catholics, to exhibit a just and accurate statement of their principles on the two great points, which are mentioned in its title: it is particularly interesting, as it was noticed by lord viscount Stafford, on his trial. A new edition of it has been recently published, by the reverend John Kirk, the roman-catholic pastor at Litchfield. In an elaborate preface, this learned gentleman gives an account of the various editions of them, and offers strong reasons for believing that it was composed by father James Corker, abbot of the English benedictine abbey of Lambspring in Germany.

XX.

AN ESSAY ON THE REUNION OF CHRISTIANS.

THIS publication exposed the Reminiscent to some ungentle animadversions.

1. By some he was accused of improperly softening the doctrine and discipline of the roman-catholic church, in order to make the reunion of the protestant churches to it appear more easy, than it is in reality: but, as he transcribes *the Creed of Pope Pius the fourth*, and refers his readers to the *Catechism of the Council of Trent*, to *Bossuet's Exposition of Faith*, and to *Dr. Challoner's Statement of Christian Doctrine*,—as works containing a complete account of the roman-catholic creed, he cannot conceive that there is the least real ground for this objection.

2. A still more serious charge was brought against the writer, by citing from his work, a passage, in which he particularizes eleven articles of religious belief, in which all denominations of christians agree. Strange to relate,—these have been repeatedly held forth, as containing the whole of the writer's own creed, and he has therefore been styled a latitudinarian. To specify such a charge is to refute it.

The Reminiscent had first noticed the projects of reunion and the articles of agreement in his "Revolutions of the German Empire."—He begs leave to transcribe the whole of this passage, and the articles themselves, and to leave them to the judgment of the reader.

* "A view of the fatal effects which religious animosity has produced in the christian world, "has often made wise and peaceful men endeavour to reunite all denominations of christians in one religion. With this view, at an early period of the reformation, *Melancthon* formed his celebrated distinction of the points in dispute been roman-catholics and protestants, into the essential, the important, and the indifferent:—in a later period of the reformation, *Grotius*, the most learned man of his age, employed the last years of his life in projects of religious pacification: towards the end of the seventeenth century, a correspondence for the reunion of the roman-catholic and lutheran churches, was carried on between *Bossuet* on one side, and *Leibnitz* and *Molanus* on the other; it may be seen in the benedictine edition of the works of Bossuet, and Mr. Dutens's edition of the works of Leibnitz. In the beginning of the last century, a similar correspondence for the reunion of the roman-

* Revolutions of the German Empire, p. 136.

"catholic and English churches was carried on "under the direction, or at least with the con- "nivance of *Cardinal de Noailles and Arch-* "*bishop Wake:* a full account of it is inserted "in the last volume of Mosheim's Ecclesias- "tical History. With a view of facilitating "this reunion *Dr. Courayer* wrote his *Discourse* "*on the Validity of English Ordinations.* A "curious history of the controversy to which "that treatise gave rise, is contained in *Com-* "*mentatio Historico-Theologica de Consecratione* "*Anglorum Episcoporum, ab Olao Kiorningio,* "*4to. Helmstadii,* 1739."

That such men as Melancthon, Grotius, Bossuet, Leibniz and Molanus, should engage in the project of reunion, is a strong argument in favour of its practibility; that it failed in their hands, may show that it is more than an Herculean labour; but does not prove it utterly impracticable. It is evident, that, at one time more than another, the public mind may be disposed to peaceful councils, and to feel the advantage of carrying mutual concession, as far as the wise and good of each party wish them carried. Perhaps the time is now come:

" *The soul's dark cottage, battered and decayed,*
" *Lets in new lights through chinks which time has made.*"

WALLER.

Through the flaws and breaches, the yawning

chasms, (as they are termed by Mr. Burke), which the events of the times have made in the civil and ecclesiastical institutions of almost every country, a flood of light seems to break in, and to point out to all who invoke the name of Christ, the expedience of mutual forbearance, mutual good humour, and a general coalition in defence of their common christianity *.

The real object of the Reminiscent in composing this work, was, to inculcate the following excellent observation of Mr. Vansittart, in his letter to Mr. Croker:—"Though a speedy re-"union of christians is not to be expected, there "is an inferior reunion, more within our pros-"pect, and yet perhaps, as perfect as human "infirmity will allow us to hope for: wherein, "though all differences of opinion should not "be extinguished, yet they may be refined from "all party prejudices and interested views; and "so softened by the spirit of charity and mutual "concession, and so controlled by agreement

* An able history of the attempts, which have been made at different times for the reunion of christians, is given in a learned and interesting work, entitled "*De la Réunion des "Communions Chrétiennes, ou Histoire des Négotiations, Con-"férences, et Correspondences, qui ont eu lieu, des Projets et "des Plans qui ont été formées à ce Sujet, depuis la Naissance "du Protestanisme jusqu'à présent. Par M. Tabaraud, Prêtre "de la cidevant Congregation de l'Oratoire. Paris* 1808, 1 *vol.* "8vo."

" on the leading principles and zeal for the
" general interest of christianity, that no sect
" or persuasion should be tempted to make re-
" ligion subservient to secular views, or to em-
" ploy political power to the prejudice of others.
" The existence of dissent, will perhaps be in-
" separable from religious freedom, so long as
" the mind of man is liable to error: but it is not
" unreasonable to hope, that hostility may cease,
" though perfect agreement cannot be established.
" IF WE CANNOT RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS,
" LET US RECONCILE ALL HEARTS."

These are golden words!—Wherever truth lies, the disposition of mind which they inculcate, is surely more likely than fierce polemics to lead to its discovery.

XXI.

AN APPEAL TO THE PROTESTANTS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

THIS was published in 1813, when the petitions of the English and Irish catholics for the repeal of the penal laws remaining in force against them, were presented to the legislature. It contains a succinct mention of the unrepealed laws, and states succinctly their severe operation on the catholics; their impolicy, the groundlessness of the arguments, by which they are usually defended, and the motives of humanity, justice, and policy, which suggest their repeal. Several thousands of this appeal were sold or circulated. It appeared to give universal satisfaction to catholics, and not to offend protestants. A tolerable crop of answers to it appeared, but none obtained much public attention. The ablest was published by a society of gentlemen, who styled themselves, *The Protestant Association:* the late worthy and learned Mr. Granville Sharpe was their president: it expressed some of the prejudices of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but was written with temper and moderation.

XXII.

INAUGURAL ORATION AT LAYING THE FIRST STONE OF THE LONDON INSTITUTION.

ANOTHER literary production, subjoined to the History of the Confessions of Faith, was an *Inaugural Oration spoken by the Writer on the 4th of May 1815, at the ceremony of laying the first Stone of the London Institution for the Diffusion of Science and Literature.* The ceremony took place on a part of a spacious piece of ground in Moorfields, which had been purchased for the Institution, of the city of London; Mr. Birch, then the lord mayor of that city, the sheriffs and aldermen, lord Carrington, the president of the institution, and several other persons of distinction, went in procession to the spot, preceded by banners and a band of music, through Cornhill, Cheapside, Old Jewry, Coleman-street, and Fore-street. The lord mayor laid the first stone, with the usual ceremonies, and addressed the surrounding audience in an elegant discourse, delivered with a dignity and grace, that would do honour to the most eloquent senator. The party then adjourned to the London tavern to hear the inaugural address: the purport of it was to show the advantages

which science and commerce derive from each other. It was printed by the desire and at the expense of the institution: at the formation of that establishment, the writer had been appointed its standing counsel.—A copy of it is transcribed in the appendix to the Reminiscences *.

The Reminiscent began a *Life of Christ*, and printed and circulated among his friends, a specimen of it. His design was to frame an harmony of the four evangelists, by translating them, verse for verse,—without any addition or omission,—in such words and phrases, as it might be supposed, the evangelists themselves might have used, if they had written in the English language:—an arduous and an useful undertaking,—but which, with great regret, he was obliged to abandon on account of its extreme difficulty, and the time which a proper execution of it would require.

The only other literary work, which the Reminiscent has begun and left unfinished, was an *History of the Binomial Theorem*;—for he too has had his algebraic hours and disported with imaginary quantities: but he found the allurements of these so strong, as to make it absolutely necessary, as he wished to continue his professional labour, to divorce himself absolutely from them. Perhaps the reasoning on im-

* Note 1.

possible quantities and exterminating them by algebraic operations, till the impossible symbols disappear, and an equation of real quantities is produced, is the highest and most delightful effort of the human understanding: but its hold on the mind, makes it absolutely incompatible with any other pursuit. The writer was therefore obliged to abandon it:

"Et multum formosa vale!"

was his exclamation, when he parted from algebra and consigned his binomial lucubration to the flames *.

* The profound and extensive classical knowledge of the late Mr. Porson is well known: his knowledge also of algebra and geometry was respectable. He had meditated a new edition of *Diophantus*, and an illustration of it by the modern discoveries. A short time before he died he gave the Reminiscent an algebraic problem, which, though not of the highest order, is certainly curious. We suppose some of our readers may wish to see it, we therefore insert it and its solution in the appendix, Note II.

In his *Recherches sur les Bibliothèques Anciennes et Modernes*, 8vo. 1819, M. Petit-Radel estimates the number of printed books in the public libraries in Paris at 1,125,437
The number in the public libraries in the provincial towns at - - - - - - - - - 3,345,287

Total number of the printed books in the public libraries of France - - - - - - - - 4,479,724

XXIII.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF THE CHURCH OF FRANCE, IN THE REIGN OF LEWIS THE FOURTEENTH, LEWIS THE FIFTEENTH, LEWIS THE SIXTEENTH, AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

HE then published his *Historical Memoirs of the Church of France, in the reign of Lewis the fourteenth, Lewis the fifteenth, Lewis the sixteenth, and the French Revolution,* 1 *vol.* 8*vo.*

To an investigation of these events in the history of the Gallican church, he was led by the attention, which he had been frequently obliged to pay, to the questions on the nature and extent of the temporal and spiritual power of the popes, which, since the reformation, have too frequently agitated the body of English catholics; and which, during the reigns of the monarchs, whom we have mentioned, and throughout the whole period of the French revolution, have convulsed the church of France. It also gave him an opportunity of producing before his protestant readers, a view of the general splendour of that great hierarchy, and of the many illustrious examples, too little known in this country, of true religion and

piety, with which the highest ranks both in the church and state of France, then abounded.

The Reminiscent's researches in the composition of this work considerably elevated, in his estimation, the character of Lewis the fourteenth. That monarch's persecution of the jansenists cannot be defended; his revocation of the edict of Nantes was a violation of public faith; the variety and ostentation of his early amours contributed much to the debasement of the morals of the nation; and his expensive wars exhausted her resources. The two last of these circumstances contributed more than all others, to the tremendous revolutions, which we have witnessed, and unfortunately yet behold. Still, the Reminiscent sees no reason to deny that Lewis the fourteenth possessed much sound sense, great discrimination of character, unconquerable firmness, real dignity, just notions of propriety,—and when he was not misled by his passions, great respect for moral principle. His greatest praise is, that few monarchs have been attended to posterity by such a splendid escort of persons, eminent for all that justly confers renown. With such exalted characters every rank in the church, as well as in the state, abounded. To bring them before his English readers was the principal object of these Memoirs.

XXIV.

BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF BOSSUET.

THE same motives, which induced the Reminiscent to compile his Historical Memoirs of the Church of France, induced him also to publish his "*Biographical Accounts of Bossuet, Fénélon, the Abbot de Rancé, Thomas of Kempis, St. Vincent of Paul, and Henri Marie de Boudon,*" —the literary occupation from which he has derived most pleasure. Nothing is more pleasing than to contemplate characters in whom there is so much to admire and to love; and in whom, if there be any thing to blame, there is nothing that disgusts.

As to *Bossuet*,—erudition, eloquence and power of argument were united in him in so high a degree, that to discover another person, in whom an equal measure of all these is found, both ancient and modern times might perhaps be ransacked in vain.

The sermons of Bossuet place him incontestibly, in the first line of preachers; and even leave it open to argument, whether he be not the first in that line. Bourdaloue and Massillon alone can dispute his pre-eminence. Nothing in the sermons of either equals, in splen-

dour, or sublimity, a multitude of passages, which may be produced from the sermons of Bossuet; and he has little of Massillon's too frequent monotony, or of the cold dialectic, which occasionally retards the beautiful march of Bourdaloue. On the other hand, Bossuet has not the continued elegance and grace of Massillon; and an advocate of Bourdaloue might contend, that, if Bourdaloue appear to yield to Bossuet in sublimity, it is only because the sublimity of Bourdaloue is more familiar, and therefore less imposing.

It seems to be admitted, that the sermons of Massillon, the tragedies of Euripides and Racine, the Georgics of Virgil, and Tully's Offices, are the most perfect of human compositions. Those, therefore, who read sermons, merely for their literary merit, will generally prefer the sermons of Massillon to those of Bourdaloue and Bossuet. On the other hand, the profound theology of the sermons of Bossuet, and the countless passages in them of true sublimity and exquisite pathos, will lead many to give him a decided preference over both his rivals. But those, who read sermons for instruction, and whose chief object, in the perusal of them, is to be excited to virtue or confirmed in her paths, will generally consider Bourdaloue as the first of preachers, and every

time they peruse him, will feel new delight. No sermons possess, in so great a degree, the indescribable charm of simplicity; and no composition, sacred or profane, contains any thing, which, in grace or effect, exceeds that insensible rise from mere instruction into eloquence, of which Bourdaloue scarcely has a sermon that does not furnish more than one example. To these must be added, his inestimable talent of conversing with his hearers.—One specimen the Reminiscent cannot refuse himself the pleasure of transcribing: "Was Magdalen," he says in his panegyric of her, "better acquainted with "Jesus Christ than we are? On the contrary, "the mysteries and doctrines of christianity, "in which we have been instructed, have dis-"covered to us wonders that were hidden from "her eyes. Why, therefore, should we make a "longer delay? Without going farther, why, "before we quit this church,—before we stir "from this very altar, where Jesus Christ him-"self is present,—(not indeed as a guest, which "he was at the house of the Pharisee, but as "our food and nourishment, as a victim immo-"lated for us, as our priest, as our pastor),— "why should we not now give ourselves up to "him?—Let us, for once, completely do, what "we have so often proposed to do;—let us say "to him, No! O Lord! It shall not be in a

" year's time; at the end of a month; it shall " be to-day. It is wrong for us to temporize " with you.—It shall not be, when I have " finished this or that business; for it is unjust " that the concerns of the world should make " me postpone the concerns of God to them: " It shall not be, when age comes upon me, for " thine, O God! is every age: and it would be " a sensible insult to thee that I should reserve " for thee, the last years, the refuse of my life. " —It is now, O God! I am thine; and I will " be always thine. Receive the protestation I " make to thee, and strengthen the resolution " which I form in thy sight."—Can simplicity, can instruction, can eloquence go beyond this passage?

In France there occasionally came to the aid of the venerable curé, under the name of missionaries, a certain number of secular or regular priests,—employed by the bishop of the diocese, to perform, what was termed a mission, within a particular precinct. They generally remained in it about ten or fourteen days, at the expense of the bishop, or their own; and were wholly employed, from a very early to a very late hour of the day, in preaching and instructing the flock; in withdrawing them from idleness and irregularity, and exciting them to industry and

piety, by every means that religion suggested to them.

"If," says cardinal Maury, *, "there remain "among us, any trace of the ancient and "nervous eloquence, which is nothing else than "the first cry of nature, imitated, or repeated "by art, it is in the missions, among the vil- "lagers, that we must seek for examples of it. "There we shall find truly apostolical men, and "real orators, gifted with a strong and bold "imagination, acknowledging no other success "than the conversions of repenting sinners; "no other applause than their tears. Occasion- "ally they fail in taste, and descend into too "familiar details: I admit it, but they open a "breach; but they force their way; but they "place themselves in the midst of conscience; "but they inflame the imagination; but they "forcibly strike the senses; but the multitude "follows, and listens to them, with enthusiasm, "and many of them have sublime passages.

"The missionary orator, most renowned in "our days, was M. Bridaine. He was highly "gifted with popular eloquence, full of ani- "mation; abounding in figures and pathos: "no one possessed in an equal degree, the "rare talent of commanding an assembled "multitude. The organ of his voice was so

* Essai sur l'Eloquence de la Chaire, s. xx.

"powerful and happy, as to render credible "what ancient history relates of the declama- "tion of the ancients; he made himself as well "heard in open air, to an assembly of 10,000 "persons, as if he spoke under the vault of "the most sonorous temple. In all he said, "there might be discovered that natural elo- "quence, which originates from genius; that "bound of natural vigour, which is superior to "any imitation. His bold metaphors; his "quick and vivid turns of thought and expression, "equally surprised, affected, and delighted. "His eloquence was always simple, but it was "always noble in its simplicity.—With these "endowments, he never failed to raise and pre- "serve the attention of the people; they were "never tired of listening to him."

In 1751, he preached in the church of St. Sulpice, at Paris. His renown had preceded him; and the temple was filled with the highest dignitaries of the church and state, decorated with the various insignia of their ranks and orders. The venerable man ascended the pulpit, cast a look of indignation and pity on his audience, remained in silence for some moments, and then began his sermon in these words:— "In the presence of an audience of a kind so "new to me, it might, my brethren, be thought, "that I should not open my mouth, without

"entreating your indulgence to a poor mis-
"sionary, who does not possess any one of the
"talents, which you are pleased to require from
"those, who address you on the salvation of
"your souls. My feelings are very different.—
"May God forbid, that any minister of the
"gospel shall ever think he owes an apology
"for preaching to you gospel truths; for, who-
"ever you are, you, like myself, are sinners, in
"the judgment of God.—Till this day I have
"published the judgments of the most high in
"straw-roofed temples: I have preached the
"rigours of penance to an audience, most
"of whom wanted bread. I have proclaimed,
"to the simple inhabitants of the villages, the
"most terrible truths of religion.—Unhappy
"man!—what have I done?—I have afflicted
"the poor, the best friends of my God. I have
"carried consternation and woe into simple and
"honest bosoms, which I ought rather to have
"soothed and comforted:—But here!—where
"my eyes fall on the great, on the rich, on the
"oppressors of suffering humanity, or on bold
"and hardened sinners; it is here, I—in the
"midst of *these* scandals,—that I ought to make
"the holy word resound in all its thunders, and
"place on one side of me, death that threatens
"you, and the great God, who is to judge us all.
"Tremble before me, ye proud, disdainful men,

" who listen to me!—Tremble! for the abuse of " favours of every kind, which God has heaped " on you! Think on the certainty of death; " the uncertainty of its hour; how terrible it " will be to you! Think on final impenitence,— " on the last judgment,—on the small number " of the elect, and above all, think on eternity! " These are the subjects upon which I shall " discourse to you, and which, with the feelings " I have mentioned, I ought to unfold to you " all in all their terrors."

" Who," exclaims the cardinal Maury, " does " not feel, both while he reads, and after he " has read, such an exordium, how much this " eloquence of the soul is beyond the cold " pretensions of the elegant men, with which " our pulpits are now filled? Ye orators, who " attend only to your own reputation, acknow- " ledge here your master! Fall at the feet of " this apostolic man, and learn, from a mis- " sionary priest, what is true eloquence."

Most, perhaps, of those who read this passage, and other passages of a similar strain, will be inclined to join in the cardinal's exclamation.—But the imitation of such passages is dangerous: the aspirant to pulpit eloquence may be, much more safely, recommended to give his days and nights to the pages of Bourdaloue.

It is not easy to find a rival to any of the

three sacred orators, whom we have mentioned; but the English catholics certainly possess, in the Rev. Mr. James Archer, one of uncommon merit. It has been his aim to satisfy reason, while he pleased, charmed and instructed her; to impress on the mind just notions of the mysteries and truths of the gospel, to draw practical lessons from them, and to shew that the ways of virtue are the ways of pleasantness, and her paths the paths of peace. No one has returned from any of his sermons, without impressions favourable to religion, or without some instruction, which through life, probably in a few days, perhaps even in a few hours, it was useful for him to remember. When we recollect that this is more than the fortieth year of Mr. Archer's predication; that he has preached oftener than fifty-two times in every year; and that in the present year, his hearers hang on all he says with the same avidity as they did in the first, we must think it difficult to name an individual to whose eloquence religion has been more indebted.

An excellent account of the pulpit eloquence of France is given in the *Essai sur l'Eloquence de la Chaire, of Cardinal Maury,* which we have already noticed. It was printed in 1810, in two volumes 8vo. and entitled "*Essai sur* "*l'Eloquence de la Chaire; Panégyriques, Eloges,*

"*et Discours, par son Eminence Monseigneur le* "*Cardinal Maury, Arch-Evêque de Montefias-* "*cone et de Corneto, Membre de l'Institut Im-* "*périal, &c.*" It abounds with curious and useful information, and judicious criticism. But an Englishman, (however he may endure what his eminence says of the superiority of the French over the English in pulpit eloquence), must smile at the following exclamation, which the cardinal archbishop addresses to the English nation, on the general merits of their oratory: "Illustrious Islanders! I try to discover an "orator, a real orator, among your sacred mini- "sters, your writers, your members of parlia- "ment, of the highest celebrity. Be it said, "without offence to your glory, I find no one "among you worthy of that name." The intrepidity of this address is the more delightful, as, by the cardinal archbishop's own confession, he himself was wholly ignorant of the English language.

XXV.

BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF FENELON.

WITH the name of *Fénélon* the most pleasing ideas are associated. To singular elevation, both of genius and sentiment, he united extreme modesty and simplicity. Unconquerably firm in all that he considered a duty, he displayed, both on great and ordinary occasions, a meekness, which nothing could ruffle. In the midst of a voluptuous court, he practised the virtues of an anchorite: equally humble and elegant, severe to himself and indulgent to others, a mysterious holiness hangs on his character, and attracts our veneration; while his misfortunes shed over him a tinge of distress, which excites our tenderest sympathy.

In all French literature, there is nothing finer than the writings of Bossuet and Fénélon, in the course of their controversy; particularly the "*Relation du Quiétisme*" of the former, and the "*Archbishop's Reply.*" But they are little read: a lesson to authors never to waste their talents on perishable topics.

In this sketch of the life of Fénélon, much is necessarily said on quietism. As quietism is an abuse of what is called, by roman-catholic spiritualists, *mystical theology*, and without some

notion of mystical theology, the nature of the errors of the quietists cannot be understood, the Reminiscent attempted to give a succinct view of it in that publication.

All who turn their attention to mystical lore, should peruse, *Peter Poiret's Bibliotheca Mystica, in one volume* 8*vo., printed at Amsterdam in* 1708, *the Preface of Villefore to the Life of St. Theresa, and the Preface of the late M. Emery, the superior of the congregation of St. Sulpice, at Paris, to his work entitled l'Esprit de Sainte Thérèse, one volume* 8*vo.* In the *Exposition de la Doctrine de Leibnitz, one volume* 8*vo.*,—a very interesting publication, for which we are chiefly indebted to M. Emery,—some passages from the works of Leibnitz are transcribed, in which he mentions the writings of *St. Theresa* with esteem, and says, that " he had found some " solid reflections in those of *St. Catharine of* " *Genoa.*"

In considering the nature and operations of the intellectual powers, the Reminiscent has sometimes thought that the reciprocal action of the soul on the imagination, and of the imagination on the soul, without the intervention of the sense, has not been sufficiently considered; and that a philosophical perusal of some of the most eminent mystics would lead to useful observations on this very curious subject.

XXVI.

BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE ABBOT DE RANCÉ—ST. VINCENT OF PAUL—HENRI MARIE DE BOUDON—AND THOMAS À KEMPIS.

1. IN the *Abbot de Rancé*, the reader will find an account of a holy monk, who revived in the latter ages, the spirit, the devotion, and the practice of monastic discipline, when it was in its perfection and full vigour.

2. Those, who peruse the life of *St. Vincent of Paul*, will probably agree with the Reminiscent in doubting, whether, at the day of general retribution, when every child of Adam will have to account for his works, even one will appear with more numerous deeds of heroic and useful charity.

3. The life of *Henri Marie de Boudon*, shows a pious priest, at once contemplative and active, and humbly exerting, within the limits of a single diocese, the most edifying acts of clerical duty.

These distinguished characters adorned the church of France during the period we have mentioned.

It may be truly said that, a French country

curate * was truly the father of his flock. There was not within his parish, a subject of joy, or distress, in which he did not feelingly participate.

" Le pauvre l'allait voir, et revénait heureux."

VOLT. *Henriade.*

Generally speaking, his income was small. If it fell short of what the French law termed the *portion congrue*, about 18 *l.* a year of our money,—but, taking into calculation the relative value of specie, and the relative price of provisions, about 60 *l.* a year of it, in its present worth,—the state made good the deficiency. It is evident, that, with such an income, the curé could spare little. Whatever it was, he gave it cheerfully, thriftily and wisely: and the soothing word, the compassionate look, the active exertion to serve, were never wanting. In the house of mourning, the curé was always seen: the greatest comfort of the aged, was to perceive him enter their door. The young never enjoyed their mirth or pastime so much, as when they saw him stand near them and smile.

* It is to be observed that the word " curé," which is always translated, in our language, by the word "curate," had not in France the meaning which the word "curate" bears in England. It rather corresponded with the word " rector," as it denoted the actual incumbent of the parsonage, not as it does with us, a person appointed by the rector to discharge his ecclesiastical functions.

But the curé never forgot that he was a minister of God: The discharge of his functions, particularly of his sacred ministry, at the altar, was at once the pride and the happiness of his life. There scarcely was a curé, who did not thoroughly instruct the children of his parish in their catechism, and his whole flock in their duties; nor one who did not every Sunday and holiday officiate at the morning and evening service, who did not regularly attend his poor parishioners through their illnesses, and prepare them, in their last moments, for their passage into eternity. The last act of his life was to commend his flock to God, and to beg his blessing on them. In every part of France, the peasant spoke of him as his best friend; "*Notre* "*bon curé*," was his universal appellation. This is not an exaggerated picture of those venerable men: their merit was at once so transcendant, and so universally recognized, as to defy calumny. On every other rank of men, the philosophers and witlings of France exhausted abuse and ridicule; but they left untouched the worthy and edifying curé.—Voltaire himself, in more passages than one of his works, pays due homage to their useful and unpretending virtue.

In his *Essay on the Eloquence of the Pulpit*, cardinal Maury mentions, that, when he was

collecting materials for it, he found that the abbé de Randovilliers had a general reputation of being uncommonly charitable; but that he could discover no particular instances of his charity, till it occurred to him to apply to the curé of the parish of St. Roche, with whom the abbé was known to be intimate. From him the cardinal learned, that the abbé regularly gave one-fourth of his ecclesiastical revenue to the poor of the places in which it arose: that, during the last thirty-three years of his life, he sent one hundred guineas monthly to the poor of the parish of St. Roche, and, besides that donation, had a weekly account of charity with the curé, for uncommon objects of relief; an application for whom, the curé declared, he had never known the abbé to reject. The abbé's own expenses were limited to one-fourth of his income. What filled the measure, and sanctified the merit of his great charities, is, that they were concealed, and known to God, alone, and to the very few persons who were concerned in their distribution.

All the furniture of a late curé de St. Sulpice, who had the richest curacy in France, consisted of a bed, a table, and a few chairs. Cardinal Maury relates, that, when the curé de St. Roche refused to take the oath of adherence to the civil constitution of the clergy, he convened

a meeting of some of the principal parishioners to verify his accounts,—and that the celebrated M. Bailly, the mayor of Paris, attended the meeting. The curé produced his accounts; and it appeared by them, that the charitable subscriptions of the preceding year, all which were purely voluntary, amounted to 130,000 French livres; for every farthing the curé accounted most satisfactorily. All these charities were absolutely private; and, if the circumstance, which has been mentioned, had not brought them into notice, would have remained unknown.

4. The Reminiscent's admiration of the celebrated "*Imitation of Christ*,"—(he wishes he could add, his practice of its rules),—induced him to commit to paper, from the best materials he could find, the life of *Thomas à Kempis*, its reputed and most probable author. His claim to it is, however, problematical; and has given rise to more than one hundred and fifty publications. The controversy has been recently revived in France, and carried on with great learning and spirit. The highest encomium which any work has yet received, was pronounced on this little book by Fontenelle*,—"C'est le livre le plus beau qui soit sorti de la "main d'un homme, puisque l'evangile n'en

* Eloge de Corneille.

"vient pas." "It is," says Leibnitz, "one of "the most excellent treatises that have been "composed.—Happy is he who puts its con- "tents into practice, and is not satisfied with "merely admiring them!"

Wesley's translation of the Imitation is greatly to be preferred to *Stanhope's*: that of the late *Dr. Challoner* is, or should be, in the hands of every roman-catholic. A very learned and curious treatise on the Imitation, and the translations of it, was published at Paris, in the year 1812, intitled, *Dissertation sur soixante Traductions Françaises de l'Imitation de Jesus-Christ, dédiée à sa Majesté l'Imperatrice et Reine. Par Ant. Alex. Barbier, Bibliothécaire de sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi, et de son Conseil d'Etat. Suivie de considerations sur la question relative a l'auteur de l'Imitation.*

XXVII.

BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE REVEREND ALBAN BUTLER.

IT remains for the Reminiscent to mention his life of the *Rev. Mr. Alban Butler*, and to say with Tacitus*, "*Hic liber memoriæ patrui mei "destinatus, aut laudatus erit aut excusatus.*" Mr. Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, though a voluminous work,—(12 vols. 8vo),—has undergone numerous editions: two different translations of it into the French language have been published, it has also been translated into Spanish, and the Reminiscent believes, into the Italian languages. Several abridgements of it have been published. The only objection made to it is, its alledged admission of too many miracles and visions.—To those, who deny the existence of miracles, we do not now address ourselves,—all other *christians* may be confidently asked, on what principle they admit the evidence for the miracles of the three first centuries, and reject the miracles of the subsequent ages? Why they deny to St. Austin, St. Gregory, the venerable Bede or St. Bernard, the confidence which they

* In vitâ Agricolæ.

place in Justin, St. Irenæus, Theodoret or Eusebius?

The style of the "Lives of the Saints" is excellent; it partakes more of that of the writers of the seventeenth century, than of the modern style of writing; Mr. Gibbon mentioned it to the Reminiscent in warm terms of commendation, and was astonished when he heard, how much of the life of Mr. Alban Butler had been spent abroad. Speaking of the "Lives of the Saints," he calls it "a work of merit, the sense and learning belong to the author, his prejudices are "those of his profession." As it is known what prejudice means in Mr. Gibbon's vocabulary, Mr. Alban Butler's relatives accept the character.

The name of *martyr* was given by the ancient church, to those who had suffered death for the faith of Christ: the name of *confessor* was applied to those who had made a public profession of their faith before the persecutors. It was afterwards extended to those who had edified the church by their heroic virtues. St. Martin of Tours is generally supposed to have been the first saint, to whom the title of confessor was applied in the last sense.

Originally, every bishop had the privilege of *canonizing* saints, or declaring them entitled to the honours, which the catholic church be-

stows on her saints. The council of Cologne, cited by Ivo of Chartres, forbids the faithful to show any public mark of veneration to any modern saint, without the permission of the diocesan. A capitulary of Charlemagne in 801 is to the same effect.

Pope Alexander the third is supposed to have been the first pope, who reserved the exclusive privilege of canonizing saints to the holy see. It was recognized by the church of France, at a council of Vienna, in which the bishops, addressing themselves to pope Gregory the ninth, expressly say, that "no sanctity, however eminent, "authorizes the faithful to honour the memory "of a saint, without the permission of the holy "see."

The present mode in proceeding in the canonization of saints, principally takes its rise from a decree of pope Urban the eighth, dated the 13th March 1625. An outline of the process of canonization is given in the work which is the subject of the present article.

XXVIII.

BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE CHANCELLOR L'HÔPITAL:—AND OF THE CHANCELLOR D'AGUESSEAU,—WITH A SHORT HISTORICAL NOTICE OF THE MISSISSIPPI SCHEME.

XXVIII. 1.

The Chancellor L'Hôpital.

THIS venerable magistrate, elegant scholar and excellent man, has been always considered in France, as one of the greatest personages whom the nation has produced. On the Reminiscent's intimating to the late sir Samuel Romilly, that he was in want of a literary hobby,—(the horse, the Englishman's friend, has never employed much of his time),—for his amusement in the long vacation, which was just opening on them, that eminent and amiable person recommended the life of l'Hôpital to his attention, and furnished him with some materials for its composition. It is gratifying to the Reminiscent to recollect that, when he presented the result of his labours to sir Samuel, it received the honour of his approbation.

It is observable that, in the literature of France, panegyrics and funeral orations fill a considerable space: those, who are most disposed to

contest her claim to universal pre-eminence in the belles lettres, acknowledge that, in these branches of eloquence, she has considerably excelled all her literary rivals. Few works of taste or genius are more admired than the funeral orations of *Bossuet:* those of *Flechier* are of an inferior cast; but, after its twentieth perusal, his oration on the death of Turenne will again be perused with pleasure. The élôges of distinguished academicians, by *Fontenelle* and *d'Alembert* do not aspire to eloquence; they profess no more than to give a short view of the lives of the authors whom they celebrate, a very summary account of their principal works, and a slight mention of the events in the literary world, with which, in some manner or other, they were connected. The former are reproached for too frequent prettiness; the latter, for a general tameness of manner; but both occasionally abound in touches of great delicacy, and are so agreeably written, that we doubt whether any reader has perused a single élôge composed by either, without lamenting its brevity.

With these works, however, our praise of French panegyric must close. About the middle of the last century a new field was opened to it, by the prizes, which the academy then began to hold out to those, who should produce the best panegyric of the hero,—(for they were

never less than literary heroes),—whom the academy assigned for the theme of praise. This set all the wits of France at work: but the result was not very favourable to their reputation. The number of these encomiastic performances, which obtained the approbation of the public, is very small; if any of them are now read, these are the élôges composed by *M. Thomâs*. The notes, with which he has accompanied them, are interesting; and, if his incessant attempts in the text, at the sublime, generally fail, they also sometimes succeed. Thus, in his élôge of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, he mentions the celebrated expression of the emperor Titus,—"I "have lost a day; for, during this day, I have "done good to none."—"What dost thou say?" exclaims the orator,—"The day, in which those "words were pronounced was not lost; on no "day wast thou so great, or so useful to the "world, as when thou gavest that eternal lesson "to kings."—In this passage there is both sense and grandeur; but in the writings of its author such passages are not often fonnd.

The magistrate, whose life is the subject of the present article, was proposed by the French Academy in the year 1777, for the subject of an élôge. *M. Guibert* and *l'abbé Rémi* contended for the prize. It was adjudged to the latter; but he had the good sense not to print his work.

M. Guibert was less prudent; his performance appeared in print soon after the prize was assigned; but though it was evidently the production of a scholar of Voltaire, both Voltaire and la Harpe, his echo, expressed their contempt of it. The celebrated Condorçet afterwards entered the lists, but with equal want of success. In 1807, *M. Bernardi* published his "*Essai sur la Vie, les Ecrits, et les Loix de "Michel de l'Hôpital, Chancelier de France,*" in one volume octavo. It is written with taste and judgment; and places the celebrated magistrate, who is the subject of it, both in an amiable and a respectable point of view; but it relates more to his private and literary life, than his public character. Of this, a very good account had been given in the "*Vie du Chancelier "l'Hôpital,*" published by an anonymous French writer, in 1764. Many interesting particulars of l'Hôpital are to be found in *Brantome*; and *Bayle* has assigned to him an article in his dictionary.—From these publications, the Reminiscent composed the biographical essay which is the subject of the present notice.

From the time of l'Hôpital's elevation to the office of chancellor till the moment when the seals were taken from him, he laboured incessantly in the glorious cause of religious toleration. As it usually happened, he offended the

zealots of each party; but he persevered: and though he met with great opposition, his efforts were not wholly without success. Through his influence, many edicts were procured which protected the lives and fortunes of protestants, and ensured to them, under certain restrictions, the free exercise of their religion. On one occasion, when it was agitated in council, whether war should be declared against the Huguenots, and l'Hôpital spoke against it with much eloquence, "It does not," the connêtable de Montmorençy said to him, "become you, gentlemen "of the long robe, to give your opinions on "matters of war."—"It is true," replied l'Hôpital, "that we are ignorant of the art of war; "yet we may know when it is wise or prudent "to declare it."

The salutary edicts, which, during the wars of religion in France, were occasionally passed in favour of the Huguenots, were principally owing to the influence of l'Hôpital. The last of these edicts was completely liberal: and such were its salutary effects, that the political adventurers among the leaders of the calvinists could not conceal the vexation which it gave them. "This single stroke of a pen," they said, "is the ruin of more of our churches, than "armies would have destroyed in ten years."

This was immediately seen. The insurgents

returned to their duty, and catholics and protestants vied in demonstrations of loyalty to their royal master, and in zeal for his service. The English having taken the town of Hâvre, the king and queen-mother proceeded in person to retake it, and were received by the army who besieged it, with acclamations of joy. On one occasion, the chancellor remarked to them the ardour and bravery of the troops in mounting a breach:—"Which of them," he asked the monarch, "are your catholic, which, your protestant subjects? Which, among the troops, whom you behold, are your bravest soldiers, your best servants? All are equally brave and good. This is the effect of the edict, so much blamed by some! See how it re-unites the royal family! restores to us our brothers, our relations and friends! It leads us out, hand in hand, against our common enemy; and makes him feel how respectable we are for virtue and power, when united among ourselves."

In the country, he banished the cares of magistracy from his thoughts, and strove, by harmless relaxation, to enable himself, on the return of the season of business, to resume the exercise of his functions with fresh vigour. "But," says he, "there is nothing frivolous in my amusements: sometimes Xenophon is the

"companion of my walks: sometimes the divine "Plato regales me with the discourses of So- "crates. History and poetry have their turns: "but my chief delight is in the sacred writings! "what comfort, what holy calm, does the me- "ditation of them confer!"

XXVIII. 2.

The Chancellor d'Aguesseau.

After an interval of 150 years, l'Hôpital had a successor in his high office of chancellor, whose character is so truly amiable and respectable, that we believe our readers will not be displeased with having a short view of it presented to them in the present pages.

Henry Francis d'Aguesseau, afterwards chancellor of France, was born in 1668. His father was Henry d'Aguesseau, councillor of state and intendant of the province of Limousin. In that important and delicate situation, he gave equal satisfaction to the monarch and the people. He disapproved of the revocation of the edict of Nantes; and, rather than witness the scenes of vexation and misery, to which it gave rise, resigned his office, and buried himself in solitude. From this time, he dedicated himself to the education of his son. The future chancellor

was ardent and indefatigable in the acquisition of knowledge; he was complete master of his own language, and of the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Spanish and English languages: to him, as to our countryman sir William Jones, the acquisition of a language was so easy, that, to use the chancellor's own words, it served him for a pastime. Through life, he was fond of poetry: the company of Boileau and Racine was his greatest relaxation.

At the age of twenty-one years, he was appointed, with the universal approbation of the public, to the charge of king's advocate at the châtelét, and, after a few months, to the charge of king's advocate in the parliament. His first exertions were so brilliant, that the celebrated Denis Talon, then president à Mortier, declared, "he would be satisfied with ending as that "young man began." At the end of ten years, he was advanced to the higher office of king's attorney-general in the parliament. He filled its duties with unblemished honour, and a marked superiority of talent. By his means, great reformation of the hospitals was introduced, legal process was amended, and the criminal code reformed. During the long wars and famines, with which the latter years of the reign of Louis the fourteenth were visited, he exerted himself to find food and employment

for the poor, and to lessen the frauds and expences in the collection of the taxes. This brought him into frequent habits of intercourse with the monarch; and, from this time, he was consulted on all difficult points in the internal administration of the kingdom, and on all important state papers. On one occasion, he opposed a favourite measure of the court, and it was supposed that he would be disgraced! he was summoned by an angry message to Versailles,—"Go,"—his wife said to him,—"and "while you are before the king, forget your "wife, forget your children, lose every thing "but your honour." In 1717, he was appointed by the duke of Orleans, the regent, to the office of chancellor; but, for opposing Law's famous Missisippi scheme, the seals were taken from him in the following year. The bubble quickly burst, and government became so embarassed, and fell into such odium, that, with a view to soothe the irritation of the public mind, d'Aguesseau was recalled, and the seals restored to him. A memorable consultation then took place: it was debated in council, whether the state should pay the national creditors as far as its resources extended, or retain the whole of its resources, and declare itself bankrupt: most of the royal advisers inclined to the latter; but the chancellor contended strenuously for the former; he

observed that what was dishonourable never proved expedient; and he finally brought over the council to his opinion. But the favour of the chancellor at the corrupt court of the regent could not be long:—he was disgraced within the year after his return, and ordered to remain at his estate at Frêsnes. He then gave his attention to general jurisprudence, and the branches of legislation immediately connected with it. He was recalled in 1727, and allowed to discharge his office,—but the seals were not restored to him till after a period of ten years; and he never regained the favour of the court, so that his recall was considered as a necessary sacrifice which the court unwillingly made to public opinion. He projected several legal reforms equally important and salutary, and conceived the noble design of rendering the administration of justice gratuitous throughout the kingdom. This may be thought visionary; but the papers containing an outline of the chancellor's plan having been preserved by his son, the execution of it was seriously thought of by the ministry which succeeded the duke de Choiseuil.

Though the reforms and improvements proposed by the chancellor, did not take place to their full extent, many were partially effected. Before they were proposed in council,

they were deliberately discussed by the chancellor, by several magistrates, and by some other distinguished personages: then they were laid before the council, with a memorial, succinctly stating the nature of the proposed regulations, the mischiefs which they were intended to remedy, and the good which they were intended to produce;—new deliberations took place, and after these, they were promulgated. Thus were framed the ordonnances in the reign of Louis the Fifteenth,—on marine affairs, on donations, on wills, on substitutions or entails, on frauds, on appeals for regulating the processes of the courts, for consolidating different courts of justice, and for settling the objects of their jurisdiction. When any of these ordonnances were published, the chancellor generally procured some judicial writer of acknowledged ability, to publish a succinct and perspicuous commentary upon it, in order to explain to the public, and particularly to legal practitioners, its practical effects. All the ordonnances which we have mentioned, were received in France with universal applause, and were attended with the most beneficial results. The first,—or the *Ordonnance sur la Marine*, has been the most known out of that kingdom. The wisdom of its provisions, and the precision with which they are expressed, were frequently mentioned by the

late Mr. serjeant Hill, in terms of the highest praise.

We have noticed the chancellor's attachment to polite literature. This was his ornament in prosperity, his refuge in adverse fortune, the soother of his mind in the vexations and wearisomeness of professional and official duty, and the restoration of its energies after fatigue, to new freshness and elasticity. It is mentioned by all his biographers, that, from his earliest youth to the close of his life, he never let a day pass without reading a portion of the scriptures: a large part of his voluminous writings is dedicated to sacred subjects. One of the greatest objects of his life was to give his children a good education, by impressing indelibly on their minds, the true principles of religion, virtue, and honour.

In his eightieth year, finding himself unequal to the discharge of his office, he tendered his resignation of it to the king: the monarch unwillingly accepted it,—continued to him all its honours, and settled on him for his life, a yearly pension of one hundred thousand livres.

He died in 1751:—By his own desire he was buried in the church-yard of his parish, under a simple cross. Lewis the fifteenth caused a magnificent monument, in the form of an obelisk, to be erected to his memory, near to the place

in which he was buried. It was destroyed at the beginning of the French revolution; it has since been restored at the public expence; and in 1810, statues of both the illustrious characters, to which this article is assigned, — l'Hôpital and d'Aguesseau, — were placed, in parallel positions before the peristyle of the legislative palace. The works of d'Aguesseau have been published in thirteen volumes, quarto. The first volume, which contains his instructions to his son for the study of the law, and the last, which contains his life of his father, and some curious memoirs respecting the religious feuds by which France was then distracted, will be found by an English reader to be the most interesting. His "*Dissertation on Mistakes of Law*," and "*Selections from his Legal Arguments*," have been translated and published by Mr. Evans*; and may be read by English lawyers with pleasure, and not without profit, if their professional studies lead them to any of the subjects which the chancellor discusses.

The only fault imputed to d'Aguesseau was dilatoriness of decision; we should hear his own apology. The general feeling of the public on this head, was once respectfully

* In the second volume of his Translation of Pothier's celebrated "Treatise on the Law of Obligations and Contracts."

communicated to him by his son:—"My child," said the chancellor, "when you shall have read "what I have read, seen what I have seen, and "heard what I have heard, you will feel, that if, "on any subject you know much, there may be "also much that you do not know; and that "something even of what you know, may not, "at the moment, be in your recollection:—You "will then too be sensible of the mischievous "and often ruinous consequences of even a "a small error in a decision; and conscience, I "trust, will then make you as doubtful, as timid, "and consequently as dilatory, as I am accused "of being."

XXVIII. 3.

The Mississippi Scheme of Law.

We have noticed the opposition of d'Agues-seau to Law's Mississippi project: A summary mention in this place of its rise and fall may not be unacceptable to our readers.

In May 1716, a bank was established in favour of the celebrated John Law, of Lauriston, in North Britain: it consisted of twelve hundred shares of 5,000 livres. In January 1718, the Regent reimbursed the proprietors, and took the bank into the hands of the crown: it then received the name of the *Royal Bank:* it was placed

under the direction of Law. It prospered, and produced a general taste, in France, particularly in the capital, for paper money. Speculating upon this, Law formed a scheme of establishing a great commercial company: all the privileges, possessions and effects of the foreign trading companies were to be transferred to it; the revenue of the crown was to be vested in it; the royal bank was to be attached to it; the whole province of Louisiana was to be granted to it; the name of "*Company of the West,*" was to be given it; and Law was to govern the whole. The Regent acquiesced in the plan, established the company, and conferred on it all that Law solicited. From the river Mississippi, on which the province of Louisiana lies, the project obtained the appellation of "*The Mississippi scheme.*" By subsequent patents, the Regent granted to the company the right of exclusive trade to China, and every part of the East Indies: and, in consequence of these grants, it received the name of "*The Company of the Indies.*"

It was held out to the public that these enormous possessions and power would enable the company to achieve speculations in commerce, which would rapidly bring the whole wealth of the world into its hands, and entitle the shareholders to dividends, far exceeding the greatest gains of the most successful adventurer in those

or former times. The company actually announced a dividend of two hundred *per cent.* The delusion became general, and rose to such a height that, in September 1721, the price of shares was more than sixty times the price for which they had originally sold, and the bank lent money, on the slightest security, at two *per cent.* The delusion continued till the 21st of the following May.—During this period, the public creditor was paid with bank notes, and the former securities given them by the king were withdrawn and annulled.—But on that memorable day, an *arrêt royal* revealed the true nature of the bubble: the paper fabric was instantaneously blown away, and on the following day,—the 22nd of May,—a man might have starved, with paper for one hundred millions in his pocket.

The general result was, that an immense number of individuals were ruined, and the greatest part of them reduced to the most abject poverty; but the state was a gainer. The interest of the national debt, when the scheme was first adopted, amounted to eighty millions of French livres;—it was reduced by the paper operations to fifty-seven millions: the twenty-three millions, which made the difference, was the gain of the state.

Sir James Stuart, in his "Enquiry into the

Wealth of Nations," offers some ingenious arguments to prove that there are not sufficient grounds to impute deliberate villainy either to the Regent or to Law; that the scheme, as it was planned by the latter, was not substantially defective, and that its failure was owing to the unwise councils, by which the plans of Law were overruled.

Near to the time of which we have been speaking, England unfortunately had its bubbles; but not to the same extent as that, by which France had suffered. A curious account of these, and of the fall of the South Sea stock and subscriptions, is given by Mr. Anderson in the third volume of his "History of Trade and Com-" merce."

XXIX.

LETTER ON ANCIENT AND MODERN MUSIC.

DURING his foreign education, the Reminiscent acquired some notion of the theory of music, and received some instruction in the practice of the harpsichord. At the house of lord Sandwich, his early introduction to which he has mentioned, music was the order of the day. From these circumstances, and in consequence of his having, as he believes, a natural taste for it, the few absolutely idle hours, with which he has to reproach himself, have been given to this pleasing science; they have encreased his knowledge of it, and he has obtained some acquaintance with its history. Mr. Salomon paid him the great compliment of saying, that "he was among the seven best "listeners to music he had known." To Salomon's own music he certainly always listened with delight.—He had, however, abandoned it altogether when an accidental circumstance recalled his thoughts to it, and occasioned his committing to paper, during a long vacation, "a "letter to a lady on ancient and modern music:" it was printed in a magazine of a limited circulation, and in the collection noticed in the article of this present publication.

XXX.

HE BLUE BOOKS—AND SOME MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS ON THE CONCERNS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

THE Reminiscent also appeared as an author, during the disputes which took place among the roman-catholics, respecting the act which was passed for their relief in 1795:—it gave occasion to the publication entitled "*The Blue Books.*"

It has been the misfortune of the English catholics, from the establishment of the reformation in England down to the present time, to be split into parties. Two things have particularly contributed to this lamentable circumstance;—the opinion entertained by too many, of the divine right of the pope to temporal power,—particularly his right to depose sovereigns offending against faith;—and the much more harmless opinion of his personal inerrancy in propounding or deciding on dogmas of faith.

As the assertion of the pope's deposing power was always treason to the constitution of this country, and was made actual treason by laws passed subsequently to the reformation, few ventured to assert it explicitly, or to condemn

explicitly those, who asserted the contrary. The personal infallibility of the pope, though believed by many, was acknowledged by all not to be a decided article of faith.

The consequence was, that the advocates of these opinions were cautious, both in maintaining them, and in censuring those, by whom the contrary opinions were maintained: but this did not lessen their attachment to their own system —their hostility to the opposite doctrine, or their anxiety to prevent its rise or progress.

Still, the circumstances, which we have mentioned, obliged them to proceed with circumspection,—particularly in respect to the great question on the deposing power:—A manœuvre, to which they then frequently resorted, and sometimes with great success,—was, whenever an instrument containing a solemn denial of the deposing doctrine was proposed, to object to it most vehemently, but to point their objections apparently not against the doctrine, but against the terms in which it was rejected: so that, while they professed to leave all persons to their own opinions on the question itself, they professed to find several things radically objectionable in the terms in which the instrument was expressed; they represented these to be such as no catholic could conscientiously subscribe; and they insinuated a charge, generally vague,

but always odious, of heterodoxy, or schism, against those, who advocated them; and when jansenism became the word of war, called them jansenists.

This is the history of the disputes among the catholics,—on the six articles proposed to the condemned priests *,—on the protestation of allegiance subscribed by the thirteen priests †—on the declaration of allegiance proposed to the catholics by James the first ‡—on the declaration proposed to them in the reign of Charles the first §—and on the Irish remonstrance ‖.

Such too is the history of the disputes among the catholics, (not to descend to a later period), on the protestation signed by them in 1791 **. The Reminiscent has given in his Historical Memoirs of the English Catholics, a succinct account of these disputes:—he has now only to mention some publications, in which he was partially concerned, which these disputes occasioned.

In the course of this controversy, the members of the committee of the English catholics thought themselves obliged, on several occasions, to address in print, sometimes the vicars

* Hist. Mem. vol. I, p. 200.
† Ib. p. 261.
‡ Ib. p. 303, 319.
§ Ib. vol. II. p. 16.
‖ Ib. 393.
** Ib. 110.

apostolic, and sometimes the catholic public at large, to explain and justify their conduct.

1. The Reminiscent had previously, with the express permission of bishop James Talbot, addressed to the vicars apostolic, a letter on the subject of the protestation and the oath formed upon it.—This was never printed, and has been seen by few: being bound in red, it required the appellation of the *Red Book*.

2. The *Blue Books* acquired this appellation from their having had a covering of that colour*.

The first,—contains a letter from the committee to the catholics of England, dated the 25th of November 1780;—and a letter from them to the four apostolic vicars, of the same date:

The second Blue Book contains two letters from the committee,—the first to Dr. Douglas; the second to Dr. Walmesley, Dr. Gibson, and Dr. Douglas, the three vicars apostolic who objected to the oath; neither Dr. Thomas Talbot, the other English vicar apostolic, nor Dr. Charles Berrington, his coadjutor, thought it objectionable:

The third Blue Book contains a letter from the

* By the Italians, who had occasion to mention them, they were called *livri turchini*. This gave occasion to a ridiculous mistake of a divine, more pious than learned in the Italian language. He read the words *livri torchini*, and construed them to mean books that were *torches* of heterodoxy!

committee to the catholics of England, dated the 21st of April 1792.

All were written by the reverend Mr. Joseph Wilkes, a benedictine monk, and the Reminiscent, with great care; all were most seriously and attentively perused by all the noblemen and gentlemen who signed them.

They were circulated extensively among the English catholics:—but the catholic committee cautiously abstained from circulating them among the Scottish or Irish catholics. They were not sold, till the first and second of them were republished for sale in 8vo. by Stockdale, in 1812. The Reminiscent has never heard, nor has he any guess, who was the editor.

3. The *Buff Book* was another publication to which this controversy gave rise: and acquired that appellation from the colour of its cover. It contains a report which some respectable gentlemen, who assumed the amiable office of peacemakers in these differences, made of their proceedings and their result. A further mention of this controversy does not suit these pages.

But the Reminiscent begs leave to add, that, in the last of the Blue Books, the committee announced their resolution of quitting the controversy altogether, and that they and all their advocates have adhered most rigidly to this resolution.

It was impossible for the Reminiscent not to mention this dispute in his "Historical Memoirs;" but he has the satisfaction of knowing that his readers think he could not have done it in fewer lines, or in terms which less provoked discussion.

On some other occasions, the Reminiscent has advocated in print the cause of the roman-catholics. 1. In 1795, he published an "*Historical Account of the Laws respecting Roman-Catholics*," 8vo, since reprinted: 2. In 1801, he published a "*Letter to an Irish Nobleman*," 8vo, on the subject of the penal laws against the Irish roman-catholics: 3. And in 1803, an "*Address to the Roman-Catholics of Ireland*," 8vo. The object of this address was to show the futility of the arguments, which some agitators of the public troubles in that kingdom, had used to induce the roman-catholics, to join the troops of Napoleon, in case of an invasion. His late majesty's ministers were so satisfied with this publication, that they caused a large impression of it to be distributed in the parts of the kingdom that were supposed to be most inclined to disaffection: 4. "*A Letter to an Irish Gentleman on the Fifth Resolution of the English Catholics, at their Meeting of the 31st of January 1810.*" This Fifth Resolution was, by a strange misconception, considered to be an

adoption of the Veto, or negative power in the election of bishops, which the prelates of Ireland had, in their resolutions of 1799, expressed a willingness to admit, but afterwards declared to be "inexpedient." The object of the pamphlet of the Reminiscent, was, not to advocate the Veto,—but to show, (what is most certainly the fact), that the Fifth Resolution did not pledge the English catholics to the Veto, or to any one specific measure of any description.

XXXI.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLE.

BEFORE the Reminiscent proceeds to the article which will close the present publication, he begs leave to submit to his readers some observations, which have, at different times, been the subject of his literary musings: they principally relate to, 1. The eras of Greek, Roman, Ommiadan and French literature: 2. The era of British literature: 3. The comparative excellence of the writers during that era, and the writers of the age of Louis the fourteenth: 4. The present general diffusion of learning among all ranks of persons in Great Britain: 5. And particularly its general diffusion among the British Ladies: 6. He will then suggest an historical work on the grand Manichean conspiracy, which began in the third century, and from that time has always been more or less in activity, has wonderfully convulsed our own age, and will probably for some time agitate that which is to come.

XXXI. 1.

The Eras of Greek, Roman, Ommiadan and French Literature.

EVERY learned reader is aware that history presents several eras, in which the powers of the human mind have been eminently displayed

in various branches of knowledge. 1. Among these, may be reckoned the *age of Homer:* his poems are the only memorial of it which have reached us: but it is impossible that they should have been the single instance of genius and taste produced during the period, in which that poet lived: 2. The next may, (but with great laxity of chronology), be called the *age of Philip and Alexander:* 3. The *age of Ptolemy Philadelphus,* king of Egypt, follows; it is not often mentioned, but it produced Theocritus, Apollonius Rhodius, many persons eminent in art and science, and one, certainly, of the most important works of antiquity, the Greek version of the Old Testament, usually termed the Septuagint: 4. The *Augustan age* is illustrated by names familiar to every classical reader: 5. The Saracenic period, or the *era of the Ommiades*;—"the flourishing ages," as they are described by Mr. Swinburn, "of Arabian gal-
"lantry and magnificence, which rendered the
"Moors of Spain superior to all their contem-
"poraries, in arts and arms, and made Cordova
"one of the most splendid cities of the world.
"Cordova was the centre of politeness, taste and
"genius; tilts and tournaments, with other
"costly shows, were long the darling pastimes
"of a wealthy, happy people: and this was the
"only kingdom of the west, where geometry,
"astronomy and physic were regularly studied

"and practised*." 6. The *age of Julius the second and Leo the tenth*, so admirably illustrated by Mr. Roscoe, in his Lives of Lorenzo di Medici and Leo. The Reminiscent has sometimes thought that an interesting history of the revival of literature in this age might be formed, by supposing a literary tour in the plan of "*The Travels of Anacharsis the Younger*." A young Sarmatian, initiated in the classics by some German or Italian, whom war or commerce had carried beyond the Vistula, might make his way into Italy; and, after much wandering, become the commensal of Erasmus at Basle, and remain with him, but with a liberal allowance for casual excursions, until his decease. Then, the traveller might resume his wanderings, visit England and Scotland, and spend his last days with Grotius. Much, of course, he should see, read and hear; and all he saw, read or heard, he should communicate to some favoured correspondent, who, after the decease of his friend, should publish his letters with notes. Such a work from a pen of taste, learning and industry, would be even more interesting than that of Barthelemi, and find its way to every school, every library, and almost every toilette in Europe. How grateful to men of letters would it be to hear that Mr. Hallam was engaged on such a work! 7. The *age of Louis the fourteenth*, is yet the glory of

* Travels through Spain, p. 280.

France. With the single exception of music, every art and science, every branch of elegant or profound literature, was then cultivated in France by persons, to whom the public opinion of all Europe has assigned a lofty place in the temple of fame.

XXXI. 2.

The Era of British Literature.

It is pleasing to an Englishman to observe, that the *age of British Literature* is of longer duration, and not inferior in splendour to any which have been mentioned. It may be divided into two serieses of writers; the first may be supposed to have commenced with Spencer, and to have closed with Edmund Burke; the second to have commenced at the decease of that great man, and to embrace the present time. In some branches of taste and science Great Britain has been equalled, in sculpture and painting she has been out-done, by other countries; but what poets have surpassed Milton, or Shakspeare; what historians have equalled Hume, Robertson, or Gibbon; what philosophers approximate to Bacon*, Newton, or Locke?

* The life of lord chancellor Bacon, by Mallet, is universally admitted to be very defective. A well written account of the public and private character of this eminent personage would be an invaluable accession both to the literary and the political history of this country:—the Reminiscent therefore

In whom do we find such an union of political knowledge, philosophy, and eloquence, as in the pages of Burke?

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adds with pleasure that the public may expect to receive it from the pen of his friend Mr. Basil Montagu. That gentleman has already preluded to it by his two articles on the *Novum Organum* of Bacon, in the *Retrospective Review.* Inverting the adjectives in the well-known sentence of Tacitus,—"*Bonum virum facile dixeris, magnum libenter*;"—we may apply it to Bacon: beyond this, we fear, that no impartial investigation of his character will ever lead.

His general subserviency to the sovereign and his favourites, and his adulatory language to them, cannot be denied; but it is some extenuation of them that, at that time, equal subserviency, and equal adulation, were chargeable on several of the greatest of his countrymen. Lord Coke, his stern and powerful adversary, did not scruple, out of compliment to James, to call sir Walter Raleigh "a viper of "hell;" and the vile Buckingham "the saviour of his "country."—To extenuate the bribing of Bacon it is said, and perhaps it is generally true, that though he was bribed, his judgments were impartially given: it has even been asserted that an instance has not been shown, in which he decided in favour of the party from whom the bribe was received. It has also been said, that bribes to the same extent, and proffered in the same manner, had been received by all his predecessors.

The circumstances of the afflicting *dénouement* of the catastrophe are highly interesting, but much in them remains to be cleared up. It is certain that Bacon himself desired to be publicly heard; this argues no fear of public inquiry; and it is also certain, that it was only from an unhappy deference to the monarch and his favourite, that Bacon did not insist upon the enquiry, and made his submission.

The second series may be said, to comprize the writers of our own time: Several are eminently respectable; and some will reach and be read with delight and admiration by the latest posterity.

XXXI. 3.

Comparison of the Writers in the British Era of Literature, with those of Lewis the fourteenth.

SUBSCRIBING to the well known verses of lord Roscommon,

> "The weighty bullion of one English line,
> "Drawn through French wire, would through whole pages shine;"

he yet doubts, whether, speaking generally, French writers are not superior to the English in perspicuity and method. Their superiority in the former, if they really possess it, may be thought owing to the multitude of connective words in the French language; and to its genders, inflections and varied terminations: their superiority in the latter, to the mode of French education, in which a large portion of time, even in their humblest academies, was given to a course of rhetoric.—Equally subscribing to the decided superiority, which the English assign to Shakspeare and Milton over all the poets of France, the Reminiscent yet feels that other nations do not seem to acquiesce in this opinion.

This is usually ascribed to their imperfect knowledge of the English language; but it may be observed, that few, who are not natives of France, have that complete knowledge of the French language which enables them to feel and judge of those niceties of language, which constitute the difference between a perfect and an imperfect style. It must be added that both Mr. Fox and Mr. Gibbon, the former a real, the latter a professed admirer of the Grecian school, are said to have preferred Corneille and Racine to the two great English bards.—In the second order of French poets, none can be compared to Dryden. Boileau and Pope may be considered to be equally balanced, the style of the former is singularly perfect: it has nothing of the useless epithet, the pertness, or the ribaldry which too often disfigure the strains of Pope; but in vain should we seek in the pages of Boileau, for the fire, the imagination, the dignity, the elegant playfulness, or the occasional, though not frequent tenderness which Pope displays. Who that reads his happy imitation of the *Intermissa Venus diu* of Horace, does not wish he had oftener touched the mournful chords. We have nothing to oppose to the comedies of Molière, the fables of La Fontaine, or the elegant trifles of Chaulieu or Gressét. In novels,—certainly the most numerous offspring of modern literature,

—England,—(at least if we except the two most perverse productions of human talent, the *Emile* and the *Nouvelle Héloise*),—has the pre-eminence. The French allow the superiority of Bacon, Locke and sir Isaac Newton, over their own philosophers,—and the superiority of Hume, Robertson and Gibbon, over their own historians; but they observe that, while Bossuet, Bourdaloue, and Massillon are to be found in all libraries and many toilets in every part of the continent where literature is cultivated, scarcely one English preacher or divine is read out of England.—With respect also to sir Isaac Newton, they remark, that, since the death of that great man, the English mathematicians have done little more than slumber under his glories; while d'Alembert, Le Gendre, La Grange, La Place, and Carnot, have pursued his discoveries, have completed the grand edifice which he left unfinished, and may therefore be said to have given him a kind of posthumous domicile in France.

In general, the French mathematicians do justice to his memory; but recently M. Bossut, in his History of Mathematics, has endeavoured to rob him of the glory of being the inventor of fluxions. This appears to make it very desirable, that a new edition of the *Commercium Epistolicum* of Collins, with a preliminary history

of the discovery of that sublime science, of the important consequences which have emanated from it, and of the disputes to which it has given rise, should be published. Is it not to be wished, that some mathematical Mecænas would make it agreeable to a Wollaston, an Ivory, or a Babbage, to employ his time on such a work? this is the more to be desired, as the *Commercium Epistolicum* is become extremely scarce.

XXXI. 4.

The present general Diffusion of Learning among all Ranks of Persons.

THE circumstance which most distinguishes the present era of British Literature from all others, is the general diffusion both of useful and ornamental knowledge among every rank of society, in a manner unknown to former times, and yet unknown to every other nation. With all the faults imputable to newspapers and other periodical effusions of the press, how much useful information is conveyed by them, to every rank of society? The author of an excellent article in the Edinburgh Review, for October 1819, shews, that in a given time, an Englishman reads about seventy-five times as much of

the newspapers of his country, as a Frenchman does of his. What a spread of information!—It may be said, that the reading might be more useful and edifying; but what an exercise of the mental powers! What an excitement to better reading, to further attainment.

XXXI. 5.

General Diffusion of Literature among the Ladies of Great Britain.

But, while the dissemination of useful and ornamental knowledge among persons of every rank in this country is thus generally mentioned, it would be wrong not to take particular notice of its extensive diffusion among the purest and gentlest portion of the community. "Women," says Fénélon, in his *Treatise on Female Education*, "were designed, by their native ele-"gance and softness, to endear domestic life to "man, to make virtue lovely to children, to "spread around them order and grace, and to "give to society its highest polish. No attain-"ment can be above beings, whose end and aim "it is to accomplish purposes at once so ele-"gant and so salutary: every means should be "used to invigorate, by principle and culture, "such native excellence and grace." How ge-

nerally, and in what a high degree these attainments are possessed by the daughters of Albion, all persons must have observed, to whom opportunities of observing it have been given, and who have availed themselves of them. Even in the learned languages, and the abstruse sciences, several are respectably informed; those, to whom the best writers of their own country, and the best in the French and Italian languages are familiar, are numerous; few are so scantily instructed as not to listen with pleasure and advantage to the conversation of men of learning and taste, or who do not view with taste the productions of the painter or statuary: —It is rare to find among them one, who does not express herself both in conversation and upon paper, with correctness and grace. The Letters of the late lady Hervey are deservedly admired.—Are there not many English ladies capable of writing letters, which, if compared with hers, would not suffer on the comparison?

Their mild, retiring and unpretending manners add to the charm of their accomplishments. Most Gallic *élégantes* have something of that spirit of exhibition, which we see displayed by the *Corinne* of Madame de Staël: nothing of this is discoverable in our countrywomen. With all their accomplishments,

"Hide me from day's garish eye,"

MILTON.

seems to be their almost universal wish. A Frenchman once triumphantly asked the Reminiscent, whether any English lady could have written the *Considerations sur les Principaux Evénemens de l'Europe* of Madame de Staël, a work certainly of extraordinary merit. The writer believes there are many; but that there are none who would have written the pages of egotism with which it abounds*.—We must add that Madame de Staal, the witty protégée of the duchess de Maine, would have written better and more interesting Considerations.

Pope says,

"Most women have no character at all."

and intended to be satyrical: but this line, in one application of it, may be considered to express a very high degree of praise. Women are never so perfect as when they possess an assemblage of excellences, each of them suited to the rest, but no one outshining the others, and thus making it her character. Such are the women by whom Shakspeare attracts the favour of the spectators; his Desdemona, Imogen, Miranda and Ophelia. Such too, is the Amelia of Fielding, the Rebecca of sir Walter Scott. Each is the perfection of female excellence; each

* If the "Courts of Elizabeth and James the first" had then appeared, the Reminiscent would have said that Miss Aikin could have published better Considerations.

attracts love and reverence; each excites interest; in all there is an union of charms, but no one charm predominates; none shines with surpassing glory.

Whether ladies, even with the greatest dispositions for literary acquirement, should study the learned languages, may be thought a question. The contrary was once suggested by the Reminiscent to a lady of great mental ardour: she observed that, the inferiority of the female capacity for acquiring the dead languages, should not be taken for granted:—"I'll engage," she said, "that if we were sent to "Eton or Harrow, we should become as good "classical scholars as boys." "True,"—it was replied, "but you are not sent to Eton or "Harrow: this makes the difference." The fact is that the structure of the Greek and Latin differs so much from that of modern languages; their grammars are so complex and obscure, their prosody so abstruse, and, for several years the acquisition of it is, in a great measure, so much a mere act of memory, and without a perfect knowledge of it, the real beauty of the diction is so little felt, that any thing like a competent knowledge of them can scarcely be obtained, except at a public school, where the boys acquire it much more by hearing their school-fellows repeat over and over again their

daily tasks, than by learning their own. Of this advantage young ladies are necessarily deprived.

It is observable, that, at a certain time of life even gentlemen, who are most ardent in literary pursuits, relax in their zeal for the prosecution of them, if their studies be not directed to a particular object; and that, from the want of such an object, they generally fall into a course of desultory listless reading, which leads to nothing. This was remarked by Mr. Burke to the Reminiscent; and he acknowledged that, in one period of his life, he himself, with all his literary enthusiasm, experienced something of this paralysis. To prevent it, would it not be advisable for ladies of cultivated minds, when they begin to feel its approach, to employ their minds on some literary or historical enquiry, which will fix their attention, and, while it confines, will animate their daily application?

The late lady Crewe desired the Reminiscent to furnish her with a course of study of modern history. He inserts his answer in the appendix *. In framing it, he took care to mention, with one exception only,—no work, which is not in Hookham's well-stocked catologue.

Another, and perhaps a better course, for female reading would be, to peruse "Anquetil's "Abridgment of Antient and Modern History,"

* Note III.

attending particularly to its geography, and minuting down its chronology:—Or, if modern history only be the object, to peruse,—but with particular attention, and with a proper map always in view, the "*Tableau des Révolutions de l'Europe, par M. Koch*," now in 4 vols. 8vo.

Here, the Reminiscent presumes to mention an observation made to him by a learned and intelligent friend, on the subject of pursuing the study of the learned languages too far. For some time after the Reminiscent quitted college, he continued smitten with the love of Greek and Roman lore. His friend remarked to him that it was a vain pursuit: "You and I," he said, "are willing to think that we understand the "French language, as well as we do our own: "most gentlemen, who have received a liberal "education, do the same. Yet, how little do "any of us feel the beauties of French poetry? "How little are we sensible of that indescriba-"ble charm of the verses of Racine, of which "every Frenchman talks to us with so much "rapture? Now, if this be the case, in respect "to a language, which we hear spoken every "day, and the writers in which are countless, "how much more must it be the case in respect "to a dead language, where the writers, whom "we possess, are so few? The utmost know-"ledge, which, by the most persevering appli-

"cation, we can obtain of the literary merit of "their compositions, so far, at least, as respects "the beauties of their style, must be very "limited." In this observation, there seems to be good sense: one, of an import somewhat similar, and leading to a similar conclusion, was made to the Reminiscent by Mr. Porson:—"The number of antient writers," said that gentlemen, "which have reached us, is so "small, that we cannot be judges of the expres- "sions, or even of the words appropriated to "any particular style. Many, suited to the "general style of Livy, would not be suited to "that of Tacitus: of this, we necessarily are, in "a great measure, insensible; and use them in- "discriminately. This must be wrong; when "therefore we write in the Latin language, our "style should be most unambitious; we should "carefully avoid all fine words and expressions, "we should use the most obvious and most "simple diction; beyond this, we should not "aspire: if we cannot present a resemblance, "let us not exhibit a caricature."

It was a remark of Boileau, that if the French had become a dead language, and few only of its approved writers had survived it, a poet, who wished to describe a person gathering sand on the bank of a river, might mention him,

"Sur la rive du fleuve amassant de l'arène."

and justify the line, by producing from approved authors, every word it contained. "But now," said Boileau, "the most ordinary writer knows "that the expressions *rive du fleuve* and *amassant* "*de l'arène*, are insupportably bad; and would "write '*Sur le bord de la rivière*, and *amassant* "*du sable*.'"

XXXI. 6.

Suggestion of a Work on the Grand Manichean Conspiracy.

HAVING in a former page of this publication, suggested a plan of one literary work, the Reminiscent begs leave to close the present article by suggesting another.

It is known to every learned reader, that Manicheism was an attempt of Manes, a native of Persia, in the third century, to engraft upon the gospel, the Persian system of the two principles, one eternally and sovereignly good, the other eternally and sovereignly evil. The soul, and whatever is derived from it, they considered to proceed from the former; the body, and whatever is derived from the body to proceed from the latter. To the body, and therefore to the evil principle, they ascribed the great inequality of power and property among mankind.

After the death of Manes, his followers were

miserably persecuted in each division of the Roman empire; and, in consequence of these persecutions, retreated to the east*. They returned to Europe about the beginning of the ninth century, and during that and the three following centuries, spread themselves, under the various appellations of Paulicians, Albigenses, Popelicans, Bogards, Brethren of the Free Spirit, and Lollards, into several sects, equally hostile to church and state. Their theological errors have been a frequent topic of discussion: even this has not yet been exhausted, but little attention has been shown to their political tenets,—to those doctrines, which suggested to them the questions asked by the English lollards, under the celebrated John Ball, their leader,

"When Adam delved and Eve span,
"Where was then the gentleman?"

And, "why Adam had not obtained a patent of "nobility for all his decendants?"

The severities of the governments of Europe bent these agitators to the ground; but the spirit was unsubdued; it fermented in silence and obscurity, and gradually prepared the mind for the religious innovations which afterwards took place. These, the doctrine of equality

* Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. v. c. 54:—perhaps the most interesting chapter in the work.

often accompanied; it is particularly discernible in Calvin and his disciples. This, the eloquence of Bossuet*, and shrewdness of Bayle†, ably charged upon them. The principle was adopted, in a limited or unlimited extent, by the French philosophers, and its ultimate results appeared in the revolution.

Such is the subject which we presume to suggest; it must be admitted to be singularly important and interesting; a proper execution of it will require great previous knowledge, long application, extensive research, and probably, some foreign travel.—But,

"*Est quodam prodire tenus, si non datur ultra.*"

HORACE.

while we wait for the execution of this work, on the extensive plan we have suggested, it is much to be wished that some gentleman properly qualified would favour us with an outline of it: one of our literary journals would be a very proper place for its insertion‡.

The late abbé Barruel, in his curious "*Mé-*

* In his sixth "Avertissement aux Protestans."

† In his "Avis aux Réfugiés."

‡ On this subject, Bossuet's "Variations," l. 11. 14, and Father Person's "Three Conversions of England," part iii. c. 3, on one side, and "Basnage's Histoire des Eglises Réformées," and the "History of the Anabaptists or Memnonites," in Dr. Maclaine's translation of "Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History," vol. iv. p. 129, on the other, may be usefully consulted.

"*moires pour servir à l'Histoire du Jacobinisme,*" professes to deduce the German Illuminés, of whom the public have heard so much, from the Manicheans, through the Knights-templars, the Albigenses, and the Free-masons. The templar extraction of these had been previously asserted by several German writers, but it seems to be completely disproved by the researches of the professors Moldenhawer and Münter*. The abbé Barruel overdid the work, by supposing the Masons and Illuminés to be the authors and principal factors of the French revolution. They co-operated in it; but, if there never had been a mason or an illuminé, the French revolution would have equally taken place. *Harrington*, when he published his *Oceana*, noticed the germ of it in France: The "*Commentaire du Chevalier Folard sur Polybe,*" published in 1727, contains the following prediction:—"A conspiracy is actually forming in Europe, by means at once so subtile and so effectual, that I grieve for not having come thirty years later into the world. It must be confessed that the sovereigns of Europe wear very bad spectacles. The proofs of it are mathematical, if such proofs there ever were of a conspiracy."

* See Monthly Review, vol. xxv. p. 303. 501; vol. xxvii. p. 509.

XXXII.

THE HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF THE ENGLISH, IRISH, AND SCOTTISH CATHOLICS.

THE writer has now reached his *Historical Memoirs of the English, Irish, and Scottish Catholics*,—his last literary labour.

During a period of forty-three years, he has taken an active part in the concerns of the English catholics, particularly in their attempts to obtain the repeal of the penal laws remaining in force against them, in consequence of their religious principles. It necessarily became his duty to obtain the best knowledge, within his power, of the external and internal occurrences in which the English catholics have been particularly interested, since the era of the reformation.

Mr. Dodd's Church History of England contains all, or at least almost all the information, which we possess upon these subjects. It is executed with ability and industry:—the labour of procuring the materials, which he used in the composition of it, must have been great, and the expence attending it considerable: this, it is said, was defrayed, in a great measure, by

Mr. Constable, of Burton-Constable, in Yorkshire, and Mr. Sheldon, of Beoley, in Warwickshire.

The difficulty of making the collections necessary for the execution of his work must have been so great, that it has ever been a matter of surprise to the Reminiscent how Mr. Dodd surmounted it. The scarcity of books, throwing any light on the history of the catholics anterior to the time, when his "Church History" appeared, is not to be conceived by those, who have not been engaged in a similar pursuit. It is principally owing to two circumstances,—the destruction of catholic books and documents, by the pursuivants, in the reigns of the two Charleses, and during the usurpation; and the destruction of them by the catholics themselves, from the dread of the heavy penalties to which they were subject, if any catholic documents were found in their custody. The best collection of such materials is at Burton-Constable: the Reminiscent has heard of others, but has not been able to ascertain their extent or value.

Mr. Dodd has been accused of partiality to the secular, and of prejudice against the regular clergy: the Reminiscent inclines to think that there is not much foundation for this charge. If it be really founded, it is excusable in some measure, as the regulars generally withheld their

literary treasures from him; while the seculars communicated to him theirs without reserve. Thus, his history would naturally exhibit more of the secular than the regular feeling, on the points upon which there had been differences between them; and his language would naturally be that of his materials. Still, all must acknowledge, that he shows the fierce polemic less than most of his contemporaries. We beg leave however to observe, that we confine these observations to his "History:" too much asperity is discernible in his other publications.

The greatest defect of his work is, its want of order. By classifying the subjects of his history under various distinct heads, he has destroyed its unity. To obtain a full knowledge of any one transaction of importance which it details, it is necessary to track the different circumstances, which entered into it, under every head, into which the work is divided: these generally lie at a distance from each other, and the information sought for is sometimes to be found only in places, where it might be least expected. This defect might have been supplied by a full index; but the index to the work is remarkably scanty.

The object of the Reminiscent, in composing and publishing the work of which he is now speaking, and which has been the employment

of most of his literary,—he may say, most of his unprofessional hours, has been to put catholics and protestants, into good humour with one another, and catholics into good humour among themselves. He will not say that he has "no-"thing extenuated," but he will most confidently assert, that he has "set down naught in malice." In writing on a subject, upon which there have been great differences of opinion, and warm discussions, it is difficult to express one's self in a manner that will satisfy both parties: all that can be done, is to abstain from ungentle language, and to adhere as much as possible, to simple narrative. The Reminiscent trusts that he has observed this rule; he hopes a single harsh word, or harsh reflection, is not to be found in any of his writings. "*Noli contendere* "*verbis querulosis*," is the advice of the author of the "Imitation of Christ," and as much recommended by true philosophy and prudence, as by true morality and religion.

He wishes that all, who feel inclined to accuse him of partiality, would, before they pronounce a sentence of condemnation, reflect a little, whether, in the very instance in which they are disposed to condemn him, their adversaries could not equally feel that he did not go all *their* lengths, and therefore impute to him equal partiality.

The first edition of "The Memoirs" had a rapid sale: a second immediately followed. It was suggested to the Reminiscent, that it would add considerably to their value, and throw considerable light on many parts of them, if a preliminary account were inserted in them, of the principal occurrences in the history of the English church before the reformation,—if they contained a fuller account of the events which took place among the English catholics after that era,—and if the most remarkable revolutions in the histories of the established church, and the dissenting and evangelical congregations, were succinctly noticed. With this view, two additional volumes were prepared, and have been indulgently received.

The Reminiscent has very recently presented a third edition of the whole work to the public. No person has more sincerely courted, or more readily acquiesced in criticism, than he has done: he knows of one quarter only from which it has not been accepted and universally submitted to, either by altering the passage in the manner suggested, or expunging it altogether.

The Reminiscent avails himself of this opportunity to state, that he understands it to be most confidently asserted, that Dr. Poynter, the vicar-apostolic of the London district, did not

only not approve, but did explicitly disapprove the oath finally inserted in Mr. Plunkett's bill *!

This assertion is most unfounded: The bill passed in the Commons on the 2nd day of April 1821; on the following day, the 3d of the same month, Dr. Poynter of his own accord, addressed a letter to the noblemen and gentlemen of the roman-catholic board, and signified to them most explicitly, his approbation of the oath and his opinion that they might conscientiously take it.

Mentioning this stage of the business, the Reminiscent begs leave to express his high sense of the gratitude which is due from the general body of the roman-catholics of these realms, to the legislature, for the long, benign, and respected discussions, which their applications for relief have received from parliament. When a strong prejudice against any description of persons is deeply rooted in the general body of a people, and both their understandings and their feelings are inveterately convinced of its justice, the eradication of it requires length of time: no powers of reason or eloquence can remove it on a sudden, or even without an incessant repetition of effort. This is particularly the case in all questions of a complicated nature, upon

* Vol. iv. ch. xciv.

which the feelings and passions of men, have been long and violently agitated, and both religious and political parties have been deeply engaged.

Now,—never has a prejudice been more violent or more general, than that, which was entertained by the bulk of the nation against their roman-catholic brethren. It was at its height at the end of the reign of Charles the first. From the period of the revolution, it seemed to subside; but it was not till the reign of his late majesty, that the catholics began to have a fair hearing. Their first appeal to the legislature was in 1778; from this time, till the present, their cause has been repeatedly brought before each house of parliament, and has received the fullest and fairest discussion. The Reminiscent has attended almost every debate in the English or the united parliament in which the question has been discussed: he does not hesitate to pronounce that imagination cannot conceive more ability, more candour, or more kindness, than have been displayed in these debates. They have left, so far as discussion was desirable, nothing for the catholics to desire; and so far as respects the removal of antient prejudice, little of it comparatively speaking, to be removed. But to remove even this little, a strong effort is necessary. It is a prejudice

instilled by the nurse and the nursery-maid; and, who is ignorant of the almost supernatural force of prejudices so instilled? Reason and ridicule are long applied in vain: even after they conquer, the prejudice triumphs, and the *nocturni lemures*, the ghost and the goblin, are still believed and feared. These are now the formidable adversaries of the catholics;—and these, but these only,—yet remain to be subdued, and even these begin to yield.

Looking at what the Reminiscent thinks the merit of his cause, he is surprised that its triumph has been so long delayed: Looking at the difficulties which seemed to overwhelm it, when it first engaged his attention, he admires its gradual but steady progress; he now flatters himself that the alternation of hope and disappointment in which he has existed during almost half a century will cease; and that the third generation of the Stourtons, the Petres, the Cliffords, and the Throckmortons, will witness the ultimate success of the councils and toils of their grandsires, and their humble but indefatigable adjutant.

With these hopes, he consigned the Historical Memoirs to the press.

After the whole impression of them, except the appendix to the last volume, was printed,

several important documents came into his hands.

1. He was favoured with the inspection of the ample collections of printed books and manuscripts at *Holkham*, the magnificent seat of Mr. Coke:—they were made by the late earl of Leicester, the maternal uncle of Mr. Coke's father.—As a catalogue of the manuscript collection is preparing for publication, under the direction of Mr. Roscoe, the Reminiscent will not now notice it, except by stating generally, that all men of learning, particularly biblical scholars, and those who are engaged in the study of the history or antiquities of this country, will find it extremely interesting, on account both of the number and the value of the articles which it contains. *Sic siti lætantur lares*,—the literary *lares* are never so well pleased, as when they preside over a literary collection so extensive, made with so much skill, and communicated with so much liberality.

In the printed collection, the writer found many works, which he wished he had seen before he sent the Memoirs to the press. The manuscript collection contains several articles of great importance to the history of the period which is the subject of them. Four of these he will specify:—1. An immense collection of *Reports made to the See of Rome*, by her

nuncios and other agents in different parts of Europe; several of these relate, directly or indirectly, to the concerns of the British dominions:—2. Among these is the *Report of Signor Gregorio Panzani*, mentioned in the Historical Memoirs*; it places the authenticity of that document beyond controversy:—3. An historical collection, "*De Hæresis Anglicanæ in-*"*trusione et progressu, et de bello Catholico, ad* "*annum* 1641, *in Hibernia cœpto, exindeque* "*per aliquos annos gesto, commentarius,*" in 7000 pages in folio. It was compiled by an Irish roman-catholic priest, from the papers of the nuncio Rinuccini, and, like Rushworth's "Historical Collections," consists of state papers and documents, introduced or connected by succinct narratives. It is mentioned by Carte, and he praises the compiler for his impartiality:—4. *Rinuccini's own Report of his Nunciature.* This is written in the Latin language, and Mr. Coke has obligingly permitted an English translation of it to be made for the Reminiscent. It is of extreme value to this important part of the Irish history.

Holkham abounds in paintings and sculpture by the most celebrated masters. How little are these generally known! This confirms Mr. Gibbon's remark, that, if her exquisite monu-

* Vol. ii. p. 331.

ments of art were, as is the case of most foreign countries, brought into her capital, England would be astonished at her own treasures.

2. Subsequently also to the impression of the Historical Memoirs, the Reminiscent obtained from Denmark some important information relating to the unfortunate *Mary of Scotland and Earl Bothwell*, her second husband.

3. He has also obtained some important documents respecting the *History of Ireland during the last half century:* they will enable him, if he should feel so disposed, to present to the public, a succinct history of a confederacy which now engages their attention,—*the Orange Association.*

4. A transalpine traveller has also procured for him several valuable papers respecting certain *recent Negociations at Rome, in which both the catholic clergy and the catholic laity of Great Britain* are much interested.

From these subsequent acquisitions, the Reminiscent is willing to believe that he could frame a volume both interesting and useful: but, whether he will attempt it, what form it will receive, and at what time it will be presented to the public, is now uncertain.

WHATEVER this additional volume may be, it will not be a necessary appendage to the

Historical Memoirs, or be essentially connected with them. Such, therefore, as the Historical Memoirs now are, they have received their writer's last care; in this state they now finally stand before the public, and wait their sentence. With Dr. Johnson* the Reminiscent *can* say, "that he has lived, until most of those, whom "he could have wished to please, have sunk "into oblivion;" but with Dr. Johnson he *cannot* say, "that he dismisses his work with frigid "tranquillity, insensible alike of fear and hope:" he acknowledges his hope that his pages will have the approbation of the good, the informed, and the candid: he owns that their censure will afflict him, and that their praise will prove to him a source of high and abundant gratification.

* In the admirable conclusion of his preface to his Dictionary.

APPENDIX.

NOTE I. referred to in page 277.

The Inaugural Oration at Laying the First Stone of the London Institution.

MY LORD MAYOR; MY LORD CARRINGTON, President of the London Institution; and GENTLEMEN,

EVERY person, who heard the eloquent and dignified address of the right honourable the lord mayor, on his placing the *first stone of the London Institution*, must join me in regretting that, to his many other attentions to this institution, his lordship does not add that of addressing you, on your return from the interesting ceremony. This, the managers of the institution have desired of me; and, in obedience to their wishes, I now request your attention to a few words, which I shall offer to your consideration, on the *advantages which science and commerce derive from each other*. But I beg leave to premise what I shall say upon it, by a short account of the formation of the institution, and the views of those with whom the design of it originated.

I.

ABOUT ten years ago, some gentlemen of high rank in commerce, and distinguished by their enlarged and cultivated understandings, projected the institution, on whose account you have this day been convened. Considering the mercantile eminence of their country; persuaded that, whatever increases the splendor, increases equally the strength and activity of commerce, and contemplating the example of almost every other European nation, they thought it due to the dignity and glory of the empire, that her commercial metropolis should be graced by a *literary and scientific institution*, on a liberal and extensive plan. They judged, that such an establishment *would bring science and commerce into contact, and that, by their approximation, each would draw forth and invigorate whatever there might be of latent energy or power in the other.*

Under this impression, they submitted their views to the consideration of their fellow citizens, and solicited the co-operation of their munificence. The design was universally approved; and a subscription of about 70,000 *l.* immediately raised, within the walls of the city of London and her commercial environs. The portion of land, which has just been honoured with your presence, was purchased from the corporation of London, with the view of erecting upon it a building, suited to the purposes of the institution. I am authorised to add, that the gentlemen, who treated with the corporation for the purchase of it, speak, in high terms, of the liberality of their proceedings.

Presuming on this liberality, and addressing myself to it, may I, an unauthorised individual, intimate an humble wish—(but a wish generally entertained),—that some arrangement may be made with the corporation of the city of London, by which the Gresham lectures, shall be attached to the London Institution? and, in conformity to sir Thomas Gresham's wise and beneficial intentions, thus made really and actively conducive to the general diffusion of science and literature. This must be the wish of every one, to whom these are dear; or who reverences the memory of the venerable founder of the lectures; or who feels the respect always due to the ashes, which still speak, of the illustrious dead.

II.

THAT *the union of science and commerce* produces public and individual happiness, and elevates, in the rank of nations, the countries that are blessed with them, would, if it required proof, be better shown by history than argument.

The spacious provinces, which now compose the Ottoman empire, were once the seat of science and commerce. Then, they were dignified by wisdom and valour; and, for a long time, were the fairest portion of the christian world. Of their science and commerce they were deprived by their invaders; and, in consequence of it, sunk into a state of abject misery, which no tongue can adequately describe:—Large territories dispeopled, goodly cities made desolate, sumptuous buildings become ruins, glorious temples subverted,

or prostituted, true religion discountenanced and oppressed, all nobility extinguished, violence and rapine exulting over all, and leaving no security, except to abject minds and unlooked on poverty*. Such is the state of a country, which hath lost her commerce and science. Would you behold a country in the full possession of them? Contemplate your own:—the number and magnificence of her cities, the high state of her agriculture, the activity of her manufactories, the easy intercourse between all parts of the nation; her grand foundations, both for learning and charity, the graceful dignity and conciliating ease of high life, the countless decencies of the middle ranks, the cheerful industry of the lowest, the general veneration for the constitution, the general obedience to law, the general devotion to their country.—Such is England! If it be inquired by what means she hath attained this height of glory and prosperity, much, it must be answered, is owing to that happy union of science and commerce, for which, in every part of her history, she has been eminently distinguished.

III.

Now, science and commerce are naturally dependant: each assists the other, and each receives from the other, a liberal return.

That *the commercial successes of a nation tend directly to promote literature, the sciences, and the arts,* admits of no doubt. On this part of my subject, I shall do little more than appeal to your own observations.

* See Sir George Sandys' Account of the Ottoman Empire.

In the course of last summer, many of you have visited the scene of the most glorious and eventful battle that modern history has to record. I request them to recollect the long line of magnificent towns in Belgium, through which they passed, in their road to that memorable spot, or on their return; the many public edifices of exquisite and costly architecture, which they observed in them, and the numberless paintings and works in marble, gold, silver, iron, and bronze, with which these abound.—I beg them to recollect, that, during two hundred years, all these cities have been in a state of decline. They may then judge what they were in the day of their prosperity. Now, every thing which I have mentioned, was raised or collected by the fostering hand of commerce. For, till the imprudent conduct of the dukes of Burgundy and the house of Austria, drove commerce to Amsterdam, the Netherlands were her favourite seat, and all these monuments of art and science owe their existence to the commercial acquisitions and well-directed munificence of the burghers of Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp, Bruxelles, and Louvaine. The architecture, painting, and sculpture, which adorn the cities between the Alps and Middle Italy, equally owe their existence to the burghers of Lombardy. Had it not been for her commerce, Venice would never have had the school of painting, for which she is so illustrious. Had not the family of the Medici, afterwards allied to so many royal houses, and the parent of so many sovereign princes, been successful merchants, half, perhaps, of the precious remains of antiquity, which we now possess, would not have reached us. A single ship, freighted with spices,

brought to Lorenzo di Medici, from the east and Greece, two hundred manuscripts, eighty of them, of works, at that time unknown in Europe. Nor should we forget the merchant kings, to whom, as the best managers of it for the public, the British Nation confides her East Indian commerce. It would be difficult to point out a period, during which, more valuable communications have been made to the learned world, than that which has elapsed since *the Institution for enquiring into the antiquities of the arts, sciences, and literature of Asia,* was established in Bengal. Far be it from us, to deny or undervalue the obligations which learning and science owe to the monarchs of the earth, or to the ranks which immediately approach them. To these, much, very much, do learning and science owe: but, were they not themselves continually enriched by the commercial part of the community, scanty indeed would be their means of remunerating or encouraging the possessors of either.

IV.

On the other hand, *science has ever been ancillary to commerce.* Not a step can commerce safely take, either in her most simple or her most complex operations, unless the sciences of number and measure attend her. Nor, should it be forgotten, that many even of those rules,

"Which boys can read and girls can understand,"—Pope.

are the result of the most profound and laborious investigation; and that the midnight lamp has, over

and over again, been lighted to the scientific men, by whom they were discovered.

To navigation,—commerce almost wholly owes her existence. From the felling of the tree to the launch of the ship, and from the launch of the ship to her arrival in port, every thing now appears to be reduced to rule; and the rules appear so simple in their theory, and so easy in their application, that they seem to be carried into effect by a kind of instinctive readiness and a process almost mechanical. But to form these rules, apparently so simple and so easy, the minds of scientific men had been employed for ages, on the most extensive and abstruse researches. It is literally true that, in the circles of art or science, there is scarcely one, which has not been pressed into the service of the ship-builder or the mariner. In those lines of trade or commerce, which are employed on the metallic productions, or in forming or compounding colours, there scarcely is a process which the workman does not owe to chemistry; and which, it did not cost the chemist the toil of years to discover. When the drainer of a marsh uses his spiral pump, he avails himself of a process, the discovery of which was thought to do honour to one of the most renowned of the ancient mathematicians. When the land-surveyor measures a field, he does it by rules laid down in a small Greek volume, which appeared 240 years before Christ. To come to our own country, and nearer to our own time, the steam-engine, now applied to so many useful purposes, and every day discovering new powers, was one of the inventions, which, in the reign of Charles the first, employed the

learned leisure of the Marquis of Worcester. To the divine mind of Sir Isaac Newton, we principally owe the quadrant, which, with Hadley's name, is now in the hands of every mariner.

But, to prove the general utility of science to commerce, it is unnecessary to travel back to the antient history of other countries, or the former history of our own. At the instant I am speaking, science is advancing towards us with an invention, which, to the latest posterity, will prove incalculably beneficial to humanity in general, and to commerce in particular. You have frequently read in your newspapers of the horrid effects of the explosion of a mine. A very recent newspaper has given an account of such a disaster. Now,—within these few weeks, one of those men,—the *homines centenarii*, as they were called by *Scaliger*, who exist but once in a century, but who, when they do exist, elevate the country in which they are born, and even the age in which they live, —our illustrious countryman, Sir Humphry Davy, has discovered a process, by which this evil principle of nature is absolutely subdued, and all possibility of danger from it, altogether removed.

A stronger proof of the utility of science cannot be required:—Perhaps, among those who frequent, or who may soon frequent, your library, or your chambers of experiment, there may be some, whose bosoms are pregnant with celestial fire, and who only want the facilities of acquiring knowledge, which these afford, to become, like that great man, leaders in science, and benefactors to humanity; but who, without these, would live and die unknowing

and unknown. What a satisfaction must it be to the friends of the London Institution to call forth the energies of such a man!

V.

Thus, in every age has science been subservient to commerce. *When they are separated,* science loses almost all her utility; commerce, almost all her dignity. *When they are united,* each grows with the growth, each strengthens with the strength of the other, and their powers appear unlimited. They ascend the heavens, delve the depths of the earth, and fill every climate that encourages them with industry, energy, wealth, honour and happiness.—To civilization, to virtue, to religion, they open every climate; they land them on every shore; they spread them over every territory.

These being the happy effects of their union, must it not be the desire of all, who wish well to either,—of all true and enlightened friends of their country, that every measure should be adopted, by which this union can be cemented and invigorated? Permit me to add, that should science ever be neglected by this country and encouraged by others, the commercial part of the community would, in all probability, suffer most and soonest from the consequences.

In a conversation, which a very inveterate and acute, and once a very powerful enemy of England, held with a friend of mine at Elba, he spoke of her in terms of respect, and even admiration: but said,—"The term of the *transcendant glory* of England "*must* now approach near its end. Years ago, *she*

" took a spring, and left the nations of the earth at " a distance behind her; *these* will soon take their " spring, and, not having your burthens on com- " merce and her arts, will pass you."—Vain be the augury! We trust and feel it will. But, were there a ground for it, one powerful means of defeating it would most assuredly be, to promote the union of science and commerce; to stimulate science to every exertion likely to prove serviceable to the commercial energies of the community; to furnish commerce with the means of affording to science and her followers every facility of research and experiment; to invite science within your walls, and to establish, on a wise, an enlarged, and a dignified plan,—on a plan suited to the high character of a British merchant,—such institutions as that, which the ceremony of this day has placed under the protection of the city of London, and her opulent, honourable, and discerning sons.

That to deserve well of their country is their earnest wish, we all know; now, power or superfluous wealth is seldom so well employed, as in the encouragement of those, whose labours increase the knowledge, refine the taste, or elevate the genius of their countrymen; and those, who are desirous of fair fame, have no such certain means of attaining it, as connecting their names with great literary institutions, and thus securing the gratitude of the artist and the scholar.

NOTE II. referred to in p. 228.

Mr. Porson's Problem with its Solution, by the Reminiscent's learned Friend,—Mr. Frend.

1. $xy+zu=444$
2. $xz+yu=180$
3. $xu+yz=156$
4. $xyzu=5184$

Multiply both sides of the 1st equation by xy, of the 2d by xz, of the 3d by xu. Then of the 1st by zu, of the 2d by yu, of the 3d by yz.

Thus, six quadratic equations will be produced; namely,

1st. $\overline{xy}^2+xyzu=444\ xy$
2d. $\overline{xz}^2+xyzu=180\ xz$
3d. $\overline{xu}^2+xyzu=156\ xu$
4th. $xyzu+\overline{zu}^2=444\ zu$
5th. $xyzu+\overline{yu}^2=180\ yu$
6th. $xyzu+\overline{yz}^2=156\ yz$

These six equations are all of the same form, and each will have two roots, and they are solved in the same manner, according to the usual rule, exemplified in the 2d equation; thus,

$$xz^2+xyzu=180\ xz$$
$$\therefore xz^2+5184=180\ xz$$
$$\therefore 180xz-xz^2=5184.$$

Subtracting each side of this last equation from the square of one half of 180 or of 90.

$$8100-180\ xz+xz^2=8100-5184=2916:$$

but the square root of $8100-180\ xz+xz^2$ is

$$90-xz, \text{ or } xz-90;$$

And the square root of 2916 is 54.

$$\therefore 90 - xz = 54$$
$$\text{or } 90 - 54 = 36 = xz.$$
$$\text{And as } xz - 90 = 54,$$
$$xz = 90 + 54 = 144.$$

Therefore the two values of xz are either 36 or 144.

In the same manner the roots of the other five equations will be found; and the roots of the six equations will be as follows:

Of the 1st. 12 or 432 for xy
2d. 36 or 144 for xz
3d. 48 or 108 for xu
4th. 432 or 12 for zu
5th. 144 or 36 for yu
6th. 108 or 48 for yz

Hence if xy is 12 zu is 432
xz is 36 yu is 144
xu is 48 yz is 108

xy is 12 zu is 432
yu is 144 xz is 36
yz is 108 xu is 48

xy is 12 zu is 432
yu is 144 xz is 36
xu is 48 yz is 108

xy is 12 zu is 432
xz is 36 yu is 144
yz is 108 xu is 48

xy is 432 zu is 12
xz is 144 yu is 36
xu is 108 yz is 48

xy is 432 zu is 12
yu is 36 xz is 144
yz is 48 xu is 108

xy is 432 zu is 12
yu is 36 xz is 144
xu is 108 yz is 48

xy is 432 zu is 12
xz is 144 yu is 36
yz is 48 xu is 108

To find the value of $x, y, z, u,$ in each of the above cases, we say from the first,

$$x = \frac{12}{y} = \frac{36}{z} = \frac{48}{u}$$

$$12z = 36y \text{ and } z = 3y$$
$$12u = 48y \text{ and } u = 4y$$
$$36u = 48z \text{ and } z = \frac{3u}{4}$$

Hence, $zu = 12y^2 = 432$
$\therefore y^2 = 36$
$\therefore y = 6$
$\therefore z = 3y = 18$
$u = 4y = 24$
and $x = \frac{12}{y} = 2$

In the same manner, from the other sets of three equations, we find the values of $x, y, z, u,$ in each, whence the numbers are found to be as follows;

$x =$ 2 3 18 36
$y =$ 6 4 24 12
$z =$ 18 12 2 4
$u =$ 24 36 6 3

The above gives all the numbers that can be applied to solve the problem, but it remains to show in how many different ways these numbers may be applied; for each number may be applied in its turn for x y z u, producing corresponding values for the other terms; and the number of variations will be seen by the following columns:

$x=$	2	2	6	6	3	3	4	4
$y=$	6	6	2	2	4	4	3	3
$z=$	18	24	18	24	12	36	36	12
$u=$	24	18	24	18	36	12	12	36
$x=$	12	12	36	36	18	18	24	24
$y=$	36	36	12	12	24	24	18	18
$z=$	3	4	3	4	2	6	2	6
$u=$	4	3	4	3	6	2	6	2

Hence there are sixteen different sets of numbers which answer the problem.

NOTE III. referred to in page 290.

Course of Study of Modern History.

A FULL knowledge of the history of France and of the principal events in the history of the Continent,—I. From the destruction of the Roman empire till the reformation;—II. From the reformation till the reign of Louis the fourteenth; and—III. From his reign till the present time;—may be obtained by perusing the following works; all of which are interesting and instructive, and written with great elegance.

I.

"*L'Histoire de Charlemagne, by M. Gaillard,*" 4 vols. 8vo.* conducts the reader from the beginning of the French history, till the house of Capet.

The next event of importance in the history of France, is the repeated wars between her and England. The history of them is found in Hume, and all other writers of the general history of England; but it is told, in a more agreeable manner by Father d'Orleans, in the second and third volumes of his "*Histoire des Révolutions d'Angleterre,*" 4 vols. 8vo.†

While these wars were at their height, the crusades began; an interesting history of them is to be found in the two first volumes of the "*Histoire des Chevaliers de "Malthé, by the Abbé de Vertot,*"‡ 5 vols. 8vo. and the "*Esprit de Croisades,*" 4 vols. 8vo.

* In Hookham's Catalogue, No. 14,529.

† Ib. 14,935.

‡ Ib. 14,595.

These are followed by the French invasion of Italy, excellently related by the Abbé de Bos, in his "*Histoire de la Ligue de Cambrai,*" 3 vols. 4to.*

Here it may be proper to rest; and to take a short view of the general state of France and Italy during the middle ages. This is given in three very interesting works, Mr. Berington's "*Lives of Heloisa and Abelard,*"† in two thin quarto volumes;—"*La Conjuration de Rienzi, by Father Cerçeau,* a jesuit," in 1 vol. 8vo.‡ and the "*Mémoires pour servir à la Vie de Pétrarque, by the Abbé de la Sade,*" 4 vols. 4to. §

II.

Mr. Berington's "*History of Literature during the Middle Ages,*" presents the best account in print of that important subject ‖; and Mr. Roscoe's ‖ "*Lives of Leo the tenth and Lorenzo di Medici,*" contain an interesting account of the revival of literature. In reference to this period "*Cardinal de Retz's Conjuration de Fiésque,*" ¶ should also be read.

After which, "*L'Esprit de la Ligue,*" 3 vols. 8vo.** than which the continent has not produced a better history, and the "*Intrigues du Cabinet, by M. d'Anquétil,*" 4 vols. 8vo. †† should be perused. Those, whom quartos do not frighten, will be delighted in

* This is not in Hookham's Catalogue, and is rather rare.

† In Hookham's Catalogue, 48.

‡ Ib. 13,813.

§ Ib. 462.

‖ Hookham has this work, but it is not in his Catalogue.

¶ In Hookham's Catalogue, 15,689, after the Memoirs.

** Ib. 14,262.

†† Ib. 15,148.

the highest degree by the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth volumes of "*Father Daniel's Histoire de France;*" * they contain the life of Louis the thirteenth, by Father Griffét; a most interesting and accurate history of a most interesting reign.

Here the eyes should be again turned on the adjacent state of the continent, and "*Vertot's Histoire de la Révolution de Portugal,*" † and his "*Histoire de la Révolution de Suède,*" ‡ each of them contained in one vol. 8vo., should be read: and here, perhaps, "*Mr. Butler's Revolutions of the German Empire,*" § may be usefully perused.

III.

The "*Mémoires du Cardinal Retz,*" ‖ 6 vols. 8vo. which give an account of the troubles in the early part of Louis the fourteenth's reign, are universally read; the principal events of that time are to be found in the "*Intrigues du Cabinet,*" already mentioned. After which the two following works,—"*Voltaire's Siècle de Louis quatorze,*" ** 2 vols. 8vo. and the "*Abbé d'Anquétil's Louis quatorze et sa Cour,*" †† bring us to the present time. It only remains to mention, the bible of French politicians, "*Histoire du Traité de Westphalie,*" 6 vols. 8vo. by *Father Bougéant.* It

* Not in Hookham's Catalogue.

† In Hookham's Catalogue, 16,851.

‡ These are not in Hookham's Catalogue, but are easily procured.

§ At Hookham's, but not in his Catalogue.

‖ In Hookham's Catalogue, 15,689.

** Ib. 16,405.

†† Ib. 15,384.

contains an account equally interesting and instructive, of the war of thirty years; and all the political negotiations of France, from the league to the peace of Westphalia.

If the reader is alarmed at Mr. Roscoe's quartos, he will find the substance of them very agreeably told by *Varillas* in his "*Anecdotes de Florence.*"* As a most interesting historical novel, for it deserves no better name,—I beg leave to recommend the "*Conjuration de Venice of the Abbé de St. Real.*" †

* In Hookham's Catalogue, 13,216.

† In Hookham's Catalogue, 16,300.

THE END.

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